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ABSTRACT

The third edition of this guide will help college and university educators design and update courses and learn about new resources in world order studies. The guide begins with three essays that set forth the rationale, methodology, and content of world order studies. The opening essay critiques traditional social science and argues for a more human-centered, transdisciplinary, and value explicit approach of study and research. The second essay deals with the principal objections to world order studies and depicts the scope of the field today. The final essay explores the methodology and content of world order studies. The second part of the guide, which comprises the major portion of the document, contains 64 course syllabi. Brief course descriptions, schedules of class sessions, and lists of books used are provided. The syllabi cover a broad range of world order concerns from general introductory courses to more topically focused ones on war and peace, international organization and law, economic development, human rights, ecological stability, values and change, and teacher training. The final section lists key resources--books, articles, journals, films and organizations--that are available to world order educators. (Author/RM)

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# PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES

## A CURRICULUM GUIDE

TRANSNATIONAL ACADEMIC PROGRAM
INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ORDER

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# Foreword and Acknowledgments

This is the third edition of *Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide*. The first two editions, published in 1973 and 1978, have been used by college and university educators to design and update courses, to learn of new resources, and to generally plan and justify new curriculum programs in world order studies. This edition is offered for the same purpose, and with the hope that it will encourage others to devote more of their teaching to peace and world order issues.

We begin this volume with three essays that together set forth the rationale, methodology, and content of world order studies. Roy Preiswerk, in the opening essay, presents a hard-hitting critique of traditional social science, and argues for a more human-centered, transdisciplinary, and value explicit approach of study and research. The title of his essay, *Could We Study International Relations As If People Mattered*, expresses succintly the rationale behind world order studies today. Richard Falk then follows with an essay which, in addition to dealing with the principal objections to world order studies, depicts the scope of the field today. He distinguishes between three approaches to world order which he calls system maintaining, system enhancing, and system transforming. Of these, Falk identifies with the latter because of its concern with an integrated strategy of change aimed at restructuring the international system. In the final essay, Burns Weston explores in some detail the methodology and content of world order studies.

Following the essays, we present 64 of the more than 400 course syllabi that were received from faculty teaching in the field. They cover a broad range of world order concerns from general introductory courses to more topically focused ones on war and peace, economic development, human rights, and ecological stability. This section is then followed by listings of the key resources—books, articles, journals, films, organizations—that are available to world order educators.

In preparing this curriculum guide, we were impressed with the many intellectual developments that have occurred in world order studies over the last three years. Several are worth noting here. First, a whole new orientation to world order studies has emerged. Briefly stated, this new approach, as developed in the courses of Richard Falk and Saul Mendlovitz, attempts to combine a theory of popular struggle with a vision of a just world order. As compared with earlier approaches, it is less preoccupied with constructing blueprints of world order and more concerned with an ongoing political process particularly as reflected in the struggles of the oppressed. It is less legalistic in approach and more appreciative of the cultural, economic, historical and psychological underpinnings of political and legal structure. Finally, this new approach is less interested in agreement at the intergovernmental level and more oriented to popular participation and to alternative conceptions of governance and development that go beyond classical liberal and Marxist ideas.

A second development is that world order studies are more transdisciplinary today than three years ago. There is more team-teaching, more courses in departments like history, sociology, anthropology and history, and a greater variety of approaches to world order problems. One can find in this volume, for example, ecological approaches to economic development, economic approaches to peace, and peace and conflict approaches to world economics.

Third, the study of world order has become more attentive to the interlinkages that exist among world order problem areas. Several years ago, for example, few courses dealt systematically with the relationship between military spending, economic development and human rights. Today, the necessity of doing so has become conventional wisdom. Further, we see new concepts emerging that help express these interlinkages: "another" development, for example, is used to denote a participatory, economically just, and ecologically sound strategy of development.

Fourth, there is increasing interest in the role culture plays in shaping world order. Cultural factors are being studied for their effects on political legitimacy, economic development, resource utilization, and conflict formation. Similarly, in considering the problem of world order transition, many scholars are giving greater prominence to changes in underlying myth, belief and value systems.

Finally, world order thinking while being more sensitive to local struggles as indicated earlier is also more holistic. The recent appreciation of the earth as a delicately balanced ecological system has reinforced earlier notions of the wholeness of the human family. As Richard Falk writes in this volume, feeling, thinking, and acting as a planetary citizen is what world order studies is increasingly about.

These are just a few of the developments that we believe are making world order studies a richer and more rigorous field of study. Undoubtedly, further developments can be expected in the years ahead as more and more educators become concerned about making their teaching more relevant to the search for peace and human well-being in a rapidly changing world. It is our hope that *Peace and World Order Studies* can play at least a modest role in this process.

For the research and development of this curriculum guide, we naturally are indebted to a large number of individuals, especially those instructors who so graciously made their course syllabi available to us. To them, we express our sincere appreciation. We also would like to acknowledge Human Rights Internet and the Center for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University for their assistance in gathering course outlines. Special thanks are also due to members of our Editorial Staff—Eileen Chamberlain, James Gollin, Joan Wathen, Judy Yun—for it was they who undertook the painstaking task of researching and collecting materials for this volume. Finally, it is with our deepest respect that we thank Earl D. Osborn, President Emeritus of the Institute for World Order, whose generous gift has helped make this book possible.

Gordon Feller
Sherle R. Schwenninger
Diane Singerman

December 1980

# Contents

Foreword and Acknowledgments

## I. ESSAYS

Roy Preiswerk, *Could We Study International Relations as if People Mattered?* . . 2

Richard A. Falk, *Contending Approaches to World Order* . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 25

Burns H. Weston, *Peace and World Order Education: An Optimal Design* . . . . . 55

## II. COURSE SYLLABI

### A. General Overview

Saul Mendlovitz, *Approaches to World Order*
(Columbia University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 82

Richard Falk, *An Introduction to World Order*
(Princeton University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 85

Louis Rene Beres, *Introduction to International Relations*
(Purdue University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 90

Karl W. Deutsch, *Problems in Peace, Justice and Processes of Change*
(Harvard University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 94

Peace and World Order Program, Colgate University, *Problems in World Community* . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 99

Robert Charlick, *Politics of Peaceful World Change*
(Cleveland State University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 106

Ronald Glossop, Rasool Hashimi, and Ernst Schusky, *Global Problems and Human Survival* (Southern Illinois University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 110

Carolyn Stephenson, *The Politics of International Interdependence*
(Colgate University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 111

Dennis Gordon, *American Foreign Policy* (University of Santa Clara) . . . . . . 115

### B. Alternative World Order

Harvey Starr, *Planning Alternative World Futures* (Indiana University) . . . . . . 118

Gustavo Lagos, *Models of Preferred World Order* (University of Denver) . . . . 123

Gary Brey, *Issues in International Relations: Alternative World Futures*
(University of South Florida) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 125

W. Basil McDermott, *On The Seriousness of the Future*
(Simon Fraser University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 131

Michael Marien, *The Literature of Future Studies and Policy Studies*
(Syracuse University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 137

C

**C. International Organization and Law**

Chadwick Alger, *The UN System in Global Problem Solving* (Ohio State University) . . . . . 143

Donald W. McNemar, *United Nations and World Government* (Dartmouth College) . . . . . 146

Samuel S. Kim, *International Organization* (New York University) . . . . . 151

Chadwick Alger, *International Organizations* (Ohio State University) . . . . . 158

Richard Falk, *The International Legal Order* (Princeton University) . . . . . 168

**D. Peace**

Ted Herman and Carolyn Stephenson, *Problems of War and Peace* (Colgate University) . . . . . 171

Miles D. Wolpin, *World Militarism: Causes, Consequences and Alternatives* (Ciudad Universitaria, Mexico) . . . . . 176

James Mittelman, *Contemporary International Conflict* (City College of New York, CUNY) . . . . . 179

Richard Falk, *International Conflict: Trends and Patterns* (Princeton University) . . . . . 181

Seymour Melman, *The War Economy* (Columbia University) . . . . . 184

Saul Mendlovitz, *Peace Studies: The Evolutionary Perspective* (Columbia University) . . . . . 189

Nigel Young, *An Introduction to Peace Studies* (University of Bradford, England) . . . . . 191

D. Lathrop, *Peace, World Order and War* (Berkshire Community College) . . . 196

Paul Wehr, *The Sociology of Peacemaking* (University of Colorado) . . . . . 200

George Hunsinger, *Disarmament: A Model Syllabus* . . . . . 202

George Lopez and Howard Richards, *Senior Seminar in Peace Studies* (Earlham College) . . . . . 210

Beverly Woodward, *Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Non-violent Action* . . . . . 213

**E. Economic Development and Well-Being**

Ken Cooper, Malcolm McWhorter and Catherine Gamon, *Ethics of Development in a Global Environment* (Stanford University) . . . . . 216

Denis Goulet, *Development: The Third World's Quest for Justice* (University of Notre Dame) . . . . . 223

Alan Amey and Timothy Shaw, *International Development: Theoretical Perspectives and Applied Issues* (Carleton University, Ottawa) . . . . . 225

Robert Bard, *Legal Obligations Under the New International Economic Order* (University of Connecticut Law School) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 232

J. Barnard, *Natural Resources in the World Economy: Control and Conflict* (University of Iowa) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 235

James Mittelman, *Political Economy of the Third World* (Columbia University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 239

Cheryl Christensen, *The International Political Economy of Food* (University of Maryland) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 242

Gigi Berardi, *Diet for a Small Planet* (University of Maryland, Baltimore) . . . 249

Sushila Gidwani, *Economics of Peace* (Manhattan Collge) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 253

Steven M. Slaby, *The Transformation of Military Technological Development and Production to a Civilian and Human Needs Focus* (Princeton University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 258

**F. Human Rights**

Laurie Wiseberg, *International Human Rights as an Aspect of World Politics* (Columbia University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 263

Margaret E. Crahan, *Human Rights in Latin America* (City University of New York) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 267

Daniel Hirsch, *Human Rights in International Perspective* (University of California at Los Angeles) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 271

Henry Shue, *Human Rights and Foreign Policy* (University of Maryland, Baltimore) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 277

David A. Robinson, *New Perspectives on World Order: Peace and Justice from the Victim's Viewpoint* (University of Vermont) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 282

**G. Ecological Balance**

Marvin S. Soroos, *Global Environmental Politics* (North Carolina State University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 285

David J. Rosen, *International Politics and the Physical Environment* (Rutgers University) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 291

Dennis Pirages, *Energy and Environment in Global Ecopolitics* (University of Maryland) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 295

Kurt Finsterbusch, *Scarcity and Society: Ecosystem Strains and Social Change* (University of Maryland) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 297

Dennis Livingston, *Appropriate Technology and the Politics of Decentralization* (Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 302

H. **Culture, Community, Values and Change**

Elliott P. Skinner, *Anthropology and The Rise of Global Civilization* (Columbia University) . . . . . . . . 306

William Irwin Thompson, *The Foundations of Lindisfarne* (Lindisfarne Association) . . . . . . . . 308

Stephen Woolpert, *Politics and Humanism: The Eupsychian Society* (University of Maryland) . . . . . . . . 310

David Rosenberg, *Ethical Strategies for a Global Community* (Middlebury College) . . . . . . . . 316

Paul Wehr, *Transitional Societies* (University of Colorado) . . . . . . . . 324

Paul Bernstein, *Evolution of Social Change Strategies* (Boston College) . . . . 326

Elise Boulding, Women, *Society and Change* (Dartmouth College) . . . . . . . . 330

Paula Rayman, *Social Change Strategy* (Brandeis University) . . . . . . . . 332

I. **World Order Education: Teacher Training**

Lawrence Metcalf, *Global Studies: A World Order Perspective* (University of Illinois) . . . . . . . . 336

David A. Shiman and David R. Conrad, *Teaching for Global Awareness* (University of Vermont) . . . . . . . . 338

David R. Conrad, *Workshop in Curriculum Development: Educating for Peace* (University of Vermont) . . . . . . . . 341

David A. Shiman, *Educating for Justice* (University of Vermont) . . . . . . . . 343

Jack Nelson, *International Studies and the Community College Curriculum* (Middlesex Community College) . . . . . . . . 346

## III. RESOURCE MATERIALS AND ORGANIZATIONS

A. Books and Articles . . . . . . . . 350

B. Periodicals . . . . . . . . 359

C. Multimedia and Simulation Games . . . . . . . . 364

D. Peace and World Order Studies Programs . . . . . . . . 373

E. Institutes and Organizations . . . . . . . . 380

# 1

# Essays

Could We Study International Relations as if People Mattered?
Roy Preiswerk

Contending Approaches to World Order
Richard A. Falk

Peace and World Order Education
An Optimal Design
Burns H. Weston

# Could We Study International Relations as if People Mattered?[*]

Roy Preiswerk[**]

When we study international relations we are often quite remote from social reality. This sounds provocative, but it is necessary regularly to re-examine the nature and purpose of our work in a rapidly changing world

There are enough studies to demonstrate how many things have gone wrong with the development of mankind. Some say we are on a dangerous path. I would go one step farther and submit that mankind's development has taken a pathological direction. Perhaps just one example would suffice to illustrate the point. According to the 1976 Yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the nuclear equipment of the world now amounts to 50,000 megatons, which is about 15 tons for each one of us and 60 tons for each inhabitant of a NATO or Warsaw Pact country. Between 1945 and 1975, the world has spent 7,000 billion dollars on military expenditure. No other species in nature, no species of the category of animals which the French call *betes* (synonymous with stupid) has ever invested such a proportion of its resources in means of mutual destruction while so many of the same species are dying of hunger every minute. During the same period only 200 billion dollars, or 3 per cent of the above amount, were spent on development aid.

We will not present an inventory of all aspects of mankind's madness. What we must ask ourselves is whether anything can be done to make the social sciences in general and the study of international relations in particular less irrelevant to the solution of the most acute contemporary social problems.

## I. SOCIAL SCIENCE IN GENERAL: FOUR REMINDERS

We now come to a brief series of generalizations which may sound unfair to those social scientists who occasionally reflect on professional ethics and who sincerely try to tackle fundamentals. What follows is valid if, as I think is the case, it is applicable to at least 51 per cent of social science research.

### 1. Social Science Is Dehumanized

The dehumanization of social sciences is parallel to the dehumanization of social life, particularly in the industrial societies. K. William Kapp epitomizes this in one sentence: "Neither in science nor in society are the concrete human beings and their interests at the centre of interest."[1] Let us make it clear that we are not speaking of the concern with the individual in the sense that this term has assumed in Western individualistic societies. The concern is with people, with the human being as a social being.

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[*] This essay was prepared for the 50th Anniversary of the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, Geneva, Switzerland, in 1977.

[**] The title of this paper is obviously inspired by E. F. Schumacher's book *Small Is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*, London, Sphere Books, 1974. The author is particularly grateful for comments on a first draft of Part I to Johan Galtung, Ekkehart Müller-Rappard, Peter O'Brien, Denis de Rougemont, Rolf Steppacher, Albert Tevoedjre, Monica Wemegah, and especially Noa Zanolli.

Social science in general takes little interest in the lives of human beings when it deals with institutions, processes, or events as if people were molecules which do not matter as such, but are noticed to the extent that they function as members of institutions, heroes or victims of processes and participants in events. The average social scientist treats people as objects, as sources of information, and he uses more and more technological hardware to achieve highly specialized and often esoteric results. Actually this kind of professional ethics (the more specialization the better) runs parallel to the interest of the ruling power (the more specialization, the weirder the language becomes for the layman, consequently no one can use the specialists' findings to question the established system). Thus, the consumers of social science are not people, but other social scientists (who admittedly are also people, but in very small numbers), governments or corporations. The question remains open for the moment, what these other social scientists or institutions do with the knowledge obtained.

We submit that many social scientists become alienated from their own societies, or from the societies they study, largely because of dominant thinking about what are supposed to be serious academic standards and research methods.

This may be a good occasion to point out that Western scientists could here and now learn something from other civilizations. Joseph Needham, a biochemist and embryologist, who came into close contact with engineering and medicine, says : "... of one thing I feel certain, namely that China will not produce those types of utterly inhuman scientists and engineers who know little, and care less, about the needs and desires of the average man and woman".[2]

## 2. Fragmented Social Sciences Can Be Useless or Counterproductive

The dehumanization of the social sciences is partly the result of their fragmentation. Fragmentation prevents an understanding of what man is all about. To narrow the sphere of observation is considered a sign of seriousness in academic circles. Specialization is necessary, but leads to abuses if there is no awareness of the ideological and ethical presuppositions of knowledge.[3] In a different form, Alfred Sauvy highlights this when he says : "Science has indeed succeeded in making men live longer and worse."[4]

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[1] K. W. Kapp, "Zum Problem der Enthumanisierung der 'Reinen Theorie' und des gesellschaftlichen Realität, *Kyklos*, vol. 20, 1967, p. 329 (hereafter K. W. Kapp, "Zum Problem").

[2] J. Needham, "History and Human Values: A Chinese Perspective for World Science and Technology", *The Centennial Review*, vol. 20, 1976, p. 27.

[3] E. F. Schumacher, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[4] A. Sauvy, *La fin des riches*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1975, p. 19.

Fragmented social sciences can be useless, because they only provide information on minute issues, because other researchers often cannot build on the findings of their colleagues and because the degree of comparability across classes, nations, and cultures is low. It is simply absurd to invent a *homo oeconomicus*, a *homo psychologicus*, or a *homo sociologicus* and then refuse to relate these analytical abstractions to the totality of the real human beings.

Quite a few social scientists find themselves at peace with their conscience when they say things such as : "The arms race is none of my business, I'm dealing with human rights." Or : "I'm specializing in balance-of-payments problems, I can't find the time to look into income inequalities." Or worse still : "It's for the economists to solve the problem of hunger, I'm looking at political systems in the Third World." Tom Learer, former Harvard professor in mathematics, who became a rather cynical songwriter, once imagined an interview with Wernher von Braun, in the course of which he speculated about the moral implications of building rockets which were generously sprinkled over the British population during World War II. The answer was this : "Once the rockets are up, who cares where they come down—that's not my department, says Wernher von Braun."

Fragmented social sciences can be counter-productive because they make us lose sight of mankind's development, they blur the pathological direction of that development and prevent an understanding of real forces at work. They also make it easier for technocrats and autocrats to manipulate society with knowledge which has the blessing of so-called scientists.

Fragmentation, incidentally, is not only a problem within the social sciences. It is becoming increasingly difficult to separate the social and the natural sciences. Some of the most disturbing questions today are : what are the social and psychological consequences of the continuing exploitation of nature? What type of energy production corresponds to a social structure we desire? What kind of socio-psychological problems arise from the means of self-destruction that the physicists are providing us with? How far will the chemical manipulation of peoples' minds go? The significance of these questions is dawning upon an increasing number of natural scientists, ecologists and physicists in particular.

### 3. If Presumed To Be Separate from Ethics and Ideology, Social Science Can Be Irrelevant or Dangerous

Science, at this stage of our development, probably creates as many problems as it solves. In fact, many "scientists" spend their time denying that our present development *is* pathological. Others specialize in setting up some kind of coherent interpretation which makes this very pathology look acceptable.

Science can be useful, but it is not sufficient. If scientists say that X thousands of people die of hunger every day, or that nuclear weapons can exterminate mankind X times, is that enough? Such information is useful and necessary, but if nobody has the courage to draw a conclusion other than that "mankind" is synonymous with "madness", then we might as well dispense with scientists. More people must come forward, even if they are—in a derogatory sense—termed "ideologues", to say that hunger is scandalous (therefore we must redistribute wealth) and that preparing an "overkill" is simply idiotic (therefore we must stop the race towards mutual annihilation). The "ideologues" are thus a disturbing factor : they express anxiety which others want to ignore, they ask for change which implies an effort and a commitment that others are reluctant to accept.

In fact, it is false to oppose science to ideology. There is no science without ideology. Whoever refuses to admit this elementary truth is either naive or completely unaware of his imlicit ideological position. In some cases, however, he is a shrewd calculator who manages to hide his ideology behind some esoteric vocabulary or mathematical formula. Science is in the midst of politics. In many societies, those who agree with the established power and values stand a good chance of being considered as scientists, while those who disagree and demand social change are easily discredited by the label of "ideologues".[5]

The present dilemma does not arise from the fact that we have insufficient knowledge about social problems. It stems from the fact that self-styled "neutral" scientists do not know who will do what with their findings. To discover something and let public or private power structures use that knowledge in unethical ways is a totally irresponsible attitude on behalf of scientists.

One contribution we can all make immediately is to claim less often that what we are asserting has "scientific" value. Today, we are in a phase of the development of the sciences which is largely determined by positivistic standards. This is a school of thought which is particularly limited in finding instruments to deal with human problems.

The value-neutrality of science is a stubborn myth. Let us take one example. It is being stated over and over again that the functioning of the market system is a process which is linked with no particular ideology. This statement is false in four respects : ideologically, culturally, ecologically, and ethically. The market is a place where the purchasing power of those who have money, rather than the essential needs of *all* people, determines the distribution of goods. The products available on the market are an expression of the income inequalities within the population. The satisfaction of demand is not the same thing as the satisfaction of needs. In almost every Third World country, you can buy egg shampoo to wash your hair with, while a large proportion of the population cannot afford to buy eggs to eat. In poor societies, the market system guarantees access of the privileged few to luxury goods. In rich societies, the market system can be seen as a way to fight simultaneously capitalist monopolies and excessive State interference in private spheres. All of this has something to do with *ideology*, with choices made by human beings concerning who gets what, when, how, where and why. There is no law of nature saying that there must be a market. The distribution of goods can be organized in various ways.

Western economists and anthropologists have noticed that there are societies without a market system. This has usually been considered, in the ethnocentric tradition, as a sign of backwardness. But the introduction of trade based on a monetary economy has led to much confusion, to the dislocation of entire societies, to the destruction of distributive systems which made it possible, in many parts of the world, to assure the survival of every member of a group. The market system is the product of a specific type of *culture*. Once again, it is not a law of nature.

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[5] See also J. Habermas, *La technique et la science comme "idéologie"*, Paris, Gallimard, 1973.

The market system puts a price on everything, but the very low-priced factor of production is nature; probably because it cannot scream, publish pamphlets, or organize a trade union. The fact that the resources of nature, particularly the sun, air and water, to some extent have no price at all, had led to the most disastrous abuses with which economic theory has acquainted us under the powerful umbrella of "science". The market system, in reality, is not value-free in terms of *ecology* either.[6]

There is a dreadful concept in economics which is called the "labour market". In fact, we are talking here about the price of human beings, although not exactly in the same terms as the slave traders were able to do. The labour market is an inhuman concept, because it means pricing the value of people according to their (more or less accidentally acquired) qualifications and to the circumstances prevailing at a particular time and place. It is also an irrational concept when one thinks that the demand on this particular "market" must always be met, just to satisfy the needs of production, whether it be for food or for arms. The market concept, consequently, is not neutral in *ethical* terms either.

This is just one example, among many thousands we could find in the so-called social "sciences", of intellectual constructs based on either naivety or dishonesty. Let us, then, proceed to think what social science, and the study of international relations in particular, could be if we stopped talking about what may seriously be regarded as scientific and instead started to think realistically about the world we are living in.

Realism is a big word, particularly when it makes claims to "scientific" evidence. It is used widely to discredit those who find something wrong with the present international system. The kind of realism we are propagating today may result in widespread famine, growing inequalities, and World War III (which, incidentally, will destroy the supermonsters and leave a number of peripheral and "primitive" peoples quite undisturbed, nuclear fall-out notwithstanding). If we accept the arms race, poverty, racism, and other charming attributes of the present system, we are being "realistic". There is something weird about a human mind capable of producing the contemptuous assertion that those who denounce these phenomena are idealists, ideologues, or dreamers. The term "realism" should be given a new meaning: not to conform with what is happening, but to be able to see what our present options mean, what could result from them, and what changes we have to envisage, drastic as they may be.

The antinomy of science versus ideology and ethics is beautifully abolished by the physicist Victor Weisskopf, when he says : "Human existence depends upon compassion, and curiosity leading to knowledge, but *curiosity-and-knowledge without compassion is inhuman*, and compassion without curiosity-and-knowledge is ineffectual."[7]

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[6] More precisely, what is meant is that air or sunshine are not calculated in terms of monetary costs, but of course the use and abuse of air or water resources present a problem of social costs. See K. W. Kapp, *The Social Costs of Private Enterprise*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1950. We must remember also that public enterprise may create similar social costs, a fact that representatives of East European countries have sometimes attempted to deny at the Stockholm Conference on the Environment.

## 4. Social Science Often Creates Obstacles to Knowledge

It may sound absurd that the official knowledge-producers in society may actually turn out to be the knowledge-hiders. But the problem is a real one. Let us take two examples. In *development economics*, we have accumulated tons of learned writings over the past thirty years. Two approaches are dominant: a more theoretical one, which usually extrapolates from the experience of industrial societies to formulate proposals concerning growth, productivity, and other marvels. There is also a more pragmatic approach, defended by those who descend on some Third World village and use their "common sense", telling the natives what they have to do about irrigation, fertilizers, and other down-to-earth matters. Both approaches have led to visible or measurable signs of "success" (buildings, plantations, growth rates, etc.), but have failed in two ways : first, they cannot free themselves of the idea that their own society is superior to all others and their "science" the only possible source of any conceivable change. Today it is becoming clear that different civilizations move in different directions and that the social sciences offered by industrial societies have not discovered much to explain the diversity of developing processes. Second, the social sciences were unable to warn us that the development strategies adopted after 1945 would lead to a deterioration of living conditions in many parts of the world. The large majority of development economists obscured our vision for three decades, pretending that the world was "progressing". In 1977, we find more hunger, misery, and unemployment than thirty years ago. Those who were the first to say this publicly were rarely academics, and when they were, as in the case of Gunnar Myrdal or Rene Dumont, for example, they were frowned upon by most of their colleagues, unable to cope with so much unorthodoxy. But can we be taken seriously when we produce splendid studies on balance-of-payments adjustments, Special Drawing Rights, transfers of technology, capital accumulation and growth rates, only to realize at the end, that every day more human beings in the poor countries see their living conditions deteriorate while in rich countries profound feelings of alienation from our way of life are spreading rapidly ?

Another example is that of *history*. Our libraries are stacked with "World History" books. A recent study of thirty school textbooks from eight different countries reveals enormous distortions in our knowledge of other civilizations.[8] Anyone who really takes the trouble to examine these distortions must agree with the statement that some ways of systematizing knowledge under the label of "objective science" constitute a veritable obstacle to knowledge. But the striking element in the situation is the exclusion of human beings. All these thousands of pages concentrate on invasions, catastrophes, royal weddings, "discoveries", and various other events, mostly sad ones. Except for a few heroes (Christopher Columbus or Winston Churchill), villains (Ghengiz Khan or Adolf Hitler), hero-villains (King Chaka, Cortez, or Pizarro) and distinguished aristocrats (all the kings of France, for instance, even the most feeble-minded), there is no reference to the fact that history ought to have something to do with people. We are quite often treated to the most gruesome details about ever more sophisticated techniques which heroic warriors have been using on every occasion to slice each other up. However, there is not a word about how the common man throughout these thousands of years went through his daily life, struggled for the survival of his family, or suffered within his natural and social environments.[9]

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[7] V. F. Weisskopf, *Physics in the Twentieth Century: Selected Essays*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1972, p. 364. Italics added.

[8] R. Preiswerk and D. Perrot, *Ethnocentrisme et histoire: L'Afrique, l'Amérique indienne et l'Asie dans les manuels occidentaux*, Paris, Anthropos, 1975.

These are brief illustrations, but there is enough evidence that similar distortions of knowledge through science are widespread[10]

## II. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN PARTICULAR: FOUR EXAMPLES

Our purpose is to reach constructive proposals as quickly as possible. Therefore this section will be extremely brief and go no further than pointing out a few of the difficulties we face when studying international relations.

### 1. The State-Centric Approach

"The objective of International Relations is to study relations among States." How many times have we been given this simplistic definition of the scope of our field of study ? Of course, the definition represents a pragmatic and realistic view : after all, the State alone holds military and police power and is entitled to sovereignty. But this definition is unacceptable for two reasons : it limits the scope of investigation (States related to States) and presents almost as a law of nature what is merely a man-made system (problem pertaining to epistemology). It also covers up an elaborate network of power relationships which are often based on extreme inequalities and injustices (problem pertaining to ethics and ideology).

Contemporary international law consolidates a system based on the supremacy of the State. In recent years it was said that the state-system is being eroded by various forces. Some analysts see three such forces: international organizations, transnational corporations, and liberation movements. In our view none of these are eroding forces; on the contrary, international organizations are based on the state-system and contribute to its consolidation. It is extremely difficult to give power to an inter-state agency dealing directly with people without passing through governments. The only important exceptions are the European Communities and the European Commission on Human Rights.[11] Transnational corporations are, it is true, more powerful and richer than many States. The annual turnover of the largest corporations is greater than the Gross National Product of a majority of States in the Third World. In comparison to these States, the corporation can indeed be considered as an eroding factor. But at the same time, they are strengthening the power of their home base and are thus contributing to growing inequalities within a statebased international system.[12] Finally, liberation movements may indeed question the legitimacy of a particular State, be it a colonial power or a State made up of different ethnic groups. But they only aim at the creation of new States which will become parties to the already established international system. If the Bretons, the Basques, the Occitans, the Alsatians, and the Corsicans all manage a revolution against France, one and indivisible as the Constitution says, setting up five more nation-states, and taking their seats at the United Nations, they will merely contribute to the consolidation of a state-based international system.

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[9] There are, of course, other approaches. See UNESCO, *Histoire du dévelopement culturel et scientifique de l'humanité*, Paris, Laffont, 1967, 9 vols.

[10] See, for instance, F. S. C. Northrop and H. Livingstone, *Cross-Cultural Understanding: Epistemology in Anthropology*, New York, Harper and Row, 1964. Also the interesting debate between M. Herskovits and F. Knight, in M. Herskovits, *Economic Anthropology*, 2nd ed., New York, Norton, 1960, appendix. For similar problems in intercultural psychology, see R. Preiswerk, "Jean Piaget et l'étude des relations interculturelles", in G. Busino (ed.), *Les sciences sociales avec et après Jean Piaget*, Geneva, Droz, 1976.

The state-based international system raises the crucial question of the way people are represented at the world level. We argue that dominant elites, not populations, are in fact represented. Behind the walls of sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs, ruling elites are protected and left quite free to practice domestic colonization, to advance the interests of a small minority and to resort to almost any method of repression. The New International Economic Order, adopted at the United Nations on 1 May 1974, and so vigorously defended by Third World diplomats, illustrates this eloquently. Only States can act, no State can be questioned about its domestic situation. And what the "representatives" of the Third World are asking for, is to obtain the means to consolidate *their* power: more money, more technology, in short, more of what we have seen in the past, despite obvious failures, when we look at the situation of the majority of the people. Critics of this approach in rich countries are now accused of a new paternalism towards Third World leaders. It is convenient for conservative elements in rich countries to say what the progressives were saying twenty years ago: do not interfere with the choices made by the newly independent countries. When, in 1975, the question was raised in Switzerland whether technical co-operation should be initiated between people rather than governments, one prominent businessman replied : "Poverty of the masses is a matter lying within the domestic jurisdiction of a country." The implication of this argument is that we are to be concerned with famine, malnutrition, disease, and other evils which, in various ways, affect at least half of the world's population only when *governments* allow us to do so. But how many of these governments have been looking seriously into such questions? 1977 is not 1947, when aid programmes were launched, or 1960, when many of us hoped that independence would lead to a better life for the populations of the former African colonies. If those who, today, are deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation must be labelled "paternalists", then let them be proud of it.

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[11] We will subsequently present a more balanced picture as far as the role of international organizations is concerned, particularly with regard to the ILO, WHO, and FAO. See Part IV.

[12] The converse is sometimes true, as R. J. Barnet and R. E. Müller show in *The Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1974.

It is true that we now have a lot of those "soft states" that Gunnar Myrdal has been talking about when it comes to questions of administrative inefficiency in the field of economic development. But most of these same States are also becoming "tough states" through militarization and improvements in their capacity to suppress any forces contesting the rights of privileged minorities to continue to ignore the basic needs of the people. It is true then, for all of these reasons, that the State is here to stay for some time, but students of international relations should not merely acknowledge this fact : they should start trying to imagine an alternative system which eliminates the inhuman aspects of a state-based international system.

### 2. Fragmentation and Isolation

It is quite obvious, and needs no undue elaboration, that the study of international relations reproduces the fragmentation of the social sciences in general. It remains multidisciplinary, a juxtaposition of separate disciplines jealously guarding their precarious identity. Sometimes it claims to be interdisciplinary, an objective which it usually fails to attain. It is never transdisciplinary.

Isolation results from arbitrary decisions on what is included or excluded from the study of international relations. There is no reason, advanced by either God, Thucydides, or contemporary epistemologists for legal, economic, or historical aspects of international relations to be given priority, while social psychology or political anthropology are left out. Furthermore, there is no valid argument why the natural sciences should not be part of the study of international relations. Why not call upon ecologists, nutritionists, or nuclear physicists to teach international relations ?

### 3. On Hiding Values

There is an enormous fraud in contemporary science which allows the credibility of the "scientist" to increase at the same rate as he manages to hide his value judgements, personal preferences, and political attitudes. The technical term for this is positivism. The non-technical word for it is dishonesty. Somehow, although we "internationalists" are outside of the spectrum of established academic disciplines, we have not overcome this problem, because we do not realize that a good portion of positivistic epistemology leads us right into intellectual dishonesty. Dishonesty in a very small way, perhaps. If we do not announce our ideology, we are probably more acceptable in the society. Also, we probably do not know to what extent our academic upbringing has brainwashed us into the positivistic mould.

### 4. On Forgetting Basic Human Needs

In Freudian terms it is called scotomization, more simply it means disregarding what deeply disturbs us. It could be inequality, poverty, torture, unemployment or the arms race. What is really expected of us? That we describe in depth the processes taking place in diplomatic gatherings and the deliberations of some international court which has no power to change anything whatsoever in the international power game? Or are we to think of the fact that what human beings need is food, fresh air and water, habitat, and a few other essential things? If international relations is to remain a relevant discipline, these problems will have to be given top priority. Otherwise we may soon be associated with stamp collectors, mountain climbers, or numismatists as far as our impact on society is concerned.

Two dangers of immense significance are involved in forgetting about basic human needs. One is to indulge in retrospection while neglecting contemporary and future worlds. This is unacceptable from a merely cognitive point of view. The other is that of sacrificing half of this generation, condemning them to a state of underprivileged existence, and putting an enormous burden on future generations. The preoccupation with basic needs has a totality to it : today's inequalities are linked with tomorrow's injustices : the exploitation of man by man runs parallel to the domination exerted by man over nature.

## III. ALTERNATIVE THINKING: EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

If we have a grain of optimism left, we must agree with E. Boulding that "ways can be found to transform the whole international system into something less costly economically and less outrageous morally".[13]

Before indicating areas of research which should be given priority, some remarks on epistemology and methodology are necessary. This is very simple: the question has to be asked again *who* studies *what, why, how,* and *for whom?* In other words : who are the producers of knowledge (researcher, observer), what is the object of their research (observed reality), what are the motives, the ideology, the value system behind the research, which method is applied, and who is the consumer of knowledge, the public to which the producer addresses himself ?

### 1. What Has Been Done?

More than a decade ago, a growing group of social scientists started to look for what T. Kuhn would call a new "paradigm".[14] Peace research, world society studies, world order studies, world future studies all have attempted to overcome the "statocracy" approach and widen the spectrum of inquiry. From the narrow perspective of interstate relations, they have moved to intergroup, intersocietal or intercultural relations, taking into consideration the role of units left outside of the classical study of international relations mainly because such units have no status as recognized actors under present international law.

The most important contribution of the new approaches is not to have widened the scope of levels and units of analysis. It lies in the qualitative transformation of the researchers' motivations. Let us take the example of hunger. It is no longer sufficient to be descriptive (how many people are dying every day), nor to be explanatory (what are the causes of hunger), or even predictive (how many people will die of hunger by the year 2000). What is required is an explicit ideology, which in this case means an extension into the normative domain (what kind of world do we want to live in) with prescriptive substance (how are we going to prevent increasing hunger).

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[13] Quoted by M. Banks, "The Relationship between the Study of International Relations, Peace Research and Strategic Studies", paper presented to UNESCO Advisory Meeting of Experts on UNESCO's Role in Developing Research on Peace Problems, Paris, July 1969, pp. 5-6.

[14] T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1970.

At present, a very fundamental change is occurring in the new approaches to the study of contemporary and future world problems. So far, various groups have been trying to establish new schools of thought in the hope that they might be recognized as giving *the* answer to the inadequacy of classical international relations studies. Now we notice a movement towards the convergence of these approaches. A first example : peace research and world order studies converge when the following methodology is proposed : first, state values, second, analyse forecasts, third, devise a design, fourth, clear up contradictions and incompatibilities, fifth, propose transitional strategies[15]. Another example: peace research and development studies find a common objective when development ceases to be seen as a "problem" afflicting poor countries and becomes a process taking place in all countries with important connections being revealed between the poverty of the former and the affluence of the latter.[16] If a complete convergence between peace studies, development studies, and future studies can be achieved, we will have a formidable coalition to confront the classical study of international relations. We will then have teams of people working simultaneously for the elimination of war, poverty, social injustice, ecological imbalance, and mass alienation. In positive terms, they will produce ideas for the achievement of peace, economic well-being, social justice, ecological stability, and participation, in all parts of the world, both for present and future generations.[17]

## 2. What Should Happen

What the social sciences can do to contribute to the goals just stated depends on the willingness to recognize a few fundamental principles of an epistemological and methodological nature.

### *(a) The Acceptance of Utopian Thinking*

A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at...", says Lewis Mumford.[18] But Mumford also reminds us of an important differentiation which Sir Thomas More makes regarding the etymology of the word. Outopia is "no place", it is a vain dream of a land never to exist. Eutopia is "the good place". It arises out of a real environment and is part of an effort to reshape man's condition according to some ideal standards. It is about Eupotia that we are talking. This is not to be confused with an idealistic view of history. Even if infrastructures or productive forces are decisive in man's history, human thought and inventiveness going beyond existing structures also have something to do with the shaping of history. Those Marxists who have not forgotten about dialectics (there are a few who have) would agree with this.

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[15] M. S. Soroos, "A Methodological Overview of the Process of Designing Alternative Future Worlds", in L. R. Beres and H. R. Targ (eds.), *Planning Alternative Futures*, New York, Praeger, 1975, pp. 3-27.

[16] For instance, Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, *Friedensanalysen — Schwerpunkt Unterentwicklung*, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1976.

[17] See the contribution of Saul Mendlovitz in the volume edited by Beres and Targ quoted in note

[18] L. Mumford, *The Story of Utopias*, New York, Viking Press, 1962 (1st ed. 1922).

Utopias, incidentally, are not simply mental constructs aimed at bringing about a better world. A lot of what is considered "realistic" thinking about mankind's present development, contained in many forecasts, is utopian. The most widespread utopia, using the word in the negative connotation which most "realists" tend to give to it, is that exponential economic growth must and *can* continue.

***(b) The Integration of Knowledge***

As long as knowledge remains fragmented, as we have said before, it contributes to the dehumanization of society. Specialization in one particular discipline is necessary, but not sufficient. Many scientists have managed to break out of the narrow field of study which the university has defined for them. The demand for "generalists" is increasing in national governments, business enterprises, and international organizations. This is an indication that to be even a perfect specialist will be increasingly considered as valid in academic circles alone, while people and institutions of public interest will develop a different view.

The integration of knowledge has at least these four fundamental facets : transdisciplinary concepts (e.g., structure or culture used in all disciplines), structural isomorphisms (the same hypotheses tested in all disciplines), globalism (the interrelations of problems in different parts of the world made evident), and totality (the interrelations of problems attributed to different disciplines made explicit).

Two remarks are necessary about the integration of knowledge. The first is that all those, and they are a vast majority in the academic world, who adhere to the cult of specialization, get off too lightly when they call the generalists dilettantes. Modesty obviously has to be the prime quality of the generalist. K. William Kapp, an economist who has written one of the path-breaking works on the integration of knowledge, says:

> "Inasmuch as we proceed to elaborate the tentative conceptual frameworks of man and culture, we are dealing with concepts and findings of disciplines outside our narrow speciality. This was unavoidable and no one is more aware of the hazards of such an enterprise than the author."[19]

The second remark has to do with a more profound dilemma. Transdisciplinarity is more than interdisciplinarity; it has to be achieved within the conceptual work of a researcher instead of merely bringing together specialists of various disciplines who politely listen to each other without budging from their original positions. A good number of so-called interdisciplinary exercises taking place today actually reinforce specialization, each person involved finding it necessary to draw more precise lines between "his" field and that of the others.[20]

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[19] K. W. Kapp, *Toward a Science of Man in Society*, The Hauge, Nijhoff, 1961, pp. ix-x.

### (c) The Humanization of Knowledge

Social scientists have to rediscover that their prime task is to put the human being and his essential needs back into the centre of attention. As we have pointed out earlier, the dehumanization of social science is parallel to the dehumanization of society.[21] So we are facing one of these famous chicken-and-egg questions again. Do we have to wait for society to change in order to change science ? In my view, it is in the true nature of dialectic thinking, and not an expression of philosophical idealism, to affirm that scientists can modify their behaviour as social actors and begin to help changing the society. Social change has never been the exclusive result of anonymous forces. The dissident thought of social analysts also makes its impact. One clear example is the profound transformation of development objectives at the present time, as compared to the first two United Nations Development Decades. Certainly, those who began to put basic needs into the centre of the debate were inspired by a deteriorating situation among the poorest segments of the world's population. Someone however had to come along, not only to see this phenomenon occur, but to represent a value system within which such a situation is intolerable. It is the combination of an objective situation with a subjective (personal, ideological, affective, etc.) valuation that leads to action for social change.

Humanization is, of course, closely interrelated with the other aspects of a new social science epistemology. It means being value-oriented and transdisciplinary. The Japanese economist Shigeto Tsuru expresses it in this way for his discipline:

> "... economists are called upon to extend their inquiry in two directions : 1. to be prepared to make normative judgements, and 2. to widen the scope of their enquiry to encompass what were once regarded as externalities. The former task requires specifying the processes through which a normative judgement can be derived from social consensus, and the latter task implies replacing the idea of economics as being a closed equilibrium system with that of it being an open-ended discipline having symbiotic contact with neighbouring disciplines."[22]

Another economist, Kurt Dopfer, goes a little further than "symbiotic contact" when he claims that a holistic approach has to take the place of interdisciplinarity. His hope is that a study of economics which covers ecology will contribute to human well being.[23] The interesting point here is that taking a much broader view, thereby arriving at a considerable degree of abstraction, including such methods as systems analysis, may bring us closer to an understanding of basic human needs. Paradoxical as it may sound, the humanization of science will not be achieved through the simplification of problems, the repudiation of such basically inhuman gadgets as the computer, or a return to non-scientific approaches. Empirical data-gathering, conceptualization, and theorizing on a very large scale are still necessary.

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[20] See J. Piaget, *Epistémologie des sciences de l'homme*. Paris, Gallimard, 1976, and the article on Piaget mentioned in note 10, p. 510.

[21] See K. W. Kapp, "Zum Problem".

[22] S. Tsuru, "Towards a New Political Economy", in K. Dopfer (ed.), *Economics in the Future*, London, Macmillan, 1976, p. 112.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

### *d) Responsibility of the Scientist*

The three preceding points inevitably lead to a more general one in the field of the professional ethics of the knowledge-producer. Once we accept the demand for the humanization of knowledge, we have to admit two further principles: social science must be committed to the reduction of social inequalities in today's world and must concern itself with the well-being of future generations. In abstract terms these are the principles of equity and intertemporal distribution. They are not new in peace research or future studies. They have found their way into development thinking through, among other things, the Cocoyoc Declaration.[24] Unfortunately they are neglected in positivistic social science.

A third type of responsibility, which has not been underlined as much as the other two, is the one that the social scientist ought to have with regard to the natural sciences. It is truly surprising how little attention is paid to the sociocultural consequences of food technology, genetic manipulation or nuclear energy. In a broader definition of the field of international relations, such questions are a matter of concern simply because they are not confined to particular territories. The influence exerted by some States on others in the field of science and technology is enormous. It affects relations between industrial States, but probably has more profound implications in relations between industrial and nonindustrial societies.

The responsibility of the scientist with regard to equity, intertemporal distribution, and natural sciences can only be achieved if he is prepared to examine the value of utopias (or to create some), and to contribute to the integration and humanization of knowledge.

### *(e) Respect for the Diversity of Intellectual Styles*

A new social science epistemology has to take into account cultural diversity and the diversity of modes of thinking that goes with it. International relations studies are deeply affected by the lack of concern with this very problem.[25] Whether we analyse negotiations, conflicts, or decolonization, we will always be handicapped if we disregard the significance of cultural diversity.

Unfortunately there is no encyclopedia of intellectual styles. Probably it is beyond the capacity of any living human being to produce such a source of information, because no one has been brought up with the idea that this is a worthwhile exercise to undertake.[26] A modest beginning would be to examine the ways in which Western societies, with the enormous military and economic power they exert over the world, "grasp" non-Western worlds. The study of international relations would greatly benefit from it in this polycentric, multicultural world. Just to give a hint : Western thought is deeply anthropocentric (man is outside and above nature), dichotomous (good and bad, body and soul, civilized and savage, etc.), unilinear (progress from here to eternity), and compartmentalized (fragmentation and hyper-specialization as discussed above). To be aware of this and to know that these structures of knowledge might be different in other societies is absolutely indispensable.

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[24] Published in *Development Dialogue*, no. 2, 1974, pp. 88-96.

[25] R. Preiswerk, "Relations interculturelles et développement", in *Le savoir et le faire*, Geneva, Cahiers de l'Institut d'etudes du développement, no. 2, 1975, pp. 11-95

[26] There are, of course, quite a few atempts. See, for instance, F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*, New York, Macmillan, 1946. This book is stimulating but also to be read sceptically because of its marked dichotomy between East and West. See also J. Galtung, *Deductive Thinking and Intellectual Style: An Essay on Teutonic Intellectual Style*, Oslo, Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, 1976, no. 2.

These are just a few dimensions of a new epistemology for social science, and consequently for the study of international relations. What we also have to reflect upon are the concrete research areas which ought to be given priority in the future.

## IV. ALTERNATIVE THINKING: AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

General statements regarding epistemology, methodology, and the professional ethics of the scientist can be translated into concrete proposals for alternative thinking on the study of international relations. Broadly speaking, there are two directions in which such thinking can lead, the two being in no way exclusive, but clearly interdependent.

### 1. New Units and Other Actors

The first question which arises is that of people's participation in decision-making processes at the international level. A new world model taking this into account must be based on a critical appraisal of the representatives of State officials in international organizations. Nongovernmental organizations (trade unions, women's movements, youth groups) which sometimes have a membership of dozens of millions, must be given the right to be more than mere observers in international gatherings.[27] Instead of a Security Council and a General Assembly, both based on State representation, a future United Nations might have two Houses", one representing States, the other NGOs. It is also possible to improve participation procedures outside established international organizations. Amnesty International is an excellent example of an organization run by citizens to combat the abuses committed by State power in all parts of the world. Its success in obtaining the liberation of political prisoners, in fighting political repression, physical and mental torture, and various forms of violation of the private sphere is outstanding.

A second area of concern which should be given priority by students of international relations is transnationalism. By this we mean the study of "contacts, coalitions and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments".[28] This may include institutions such as NGOs or transnational corporations as well as informal relations through student exchanges or tourism. A word of caution is needed here. We must not be made to believe that transnational interaction is by definition good for people because it erodes State power or interstate coalitions. The opposite is in fact possible: "Without transnational *participation*, transnational *power* remains elitist and parochial social reality remains untempered."[29]

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[27] J. Galtung, "Nonterritorial Actors and the Problem of Peace", in S. Mendlovitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order, Preferred Worlds for the 1990's*, New York, Free Press, 1975.

[28] R. O. Keohane and J. S. Nye, *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1972, p. xi.

A somewhat different field for concern, although not totally separate from the preceding one, is the study of intercultural relations. Instead of looking at the interaction of States, let us examine how cultural units at various levels (micro- as well as macro-cultures) interact.[30] This is revealing in many ways: we learn about ethnic groups communicating across cultural boundaries, about cognitive styles of different cultures which are confronted in interstate relations or about movements trying to bring together groups of States on the grounds of cultural similarity. One model for a future world based on a system of macro-cultures instead of States has already been proposed.[31]

A further approach lies in the creation of functional, cross-boundary entities. In Africa, such entities exist on an informal basis, because the frontiers acquired with independence are usually too artificial to keep neighbouring populations from having closer relations across frontiers than within frontiers. In Europe, the need for institutionalized crossboundary co-operation seems rather acute. To give an example: a movement launched many years ago in Basle under the name of "Regio basiliensis", with the objective of establishing co-operative relations between French, German, and Swiss living in the area around Basle, has a significant role to play. There is proof of this in the fact that the separate decisions of the three countries to establish nuclear power stations on their respective territories near Basle is now generally recognized by specialists, and more so even by the population of Basle, as dangerous and irresponsible. It would mean the highest concentration of nuclear power stations in the whole world. Effective regional entities dealing with this type of problem, thereby reducing exclusively national prerogatives, are a necessity for the well-being of the populations concerned.[32]

All of this may sound reasonably acceptable and open up many avenues for international relations research, but the underlying problem which we have to face takes us back to utopia, in the sense of eutopia: it has to do with the inequalities of the size and power of States. H. Simons goes all the way in his analysis of the "overgrown nation states" when he says: "These monsters of nationalism and mercantilism must be dismantled, both to preserve world order and to protect internal peace."[33] And another economist, Leopold Kohr, well known for his life-long struggle against the large State, puts it even more dramatically:

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[29] J. Harrod, "Transnational Power", *The Yearbook of World Affairs*, London, 1976, p. 115.

[30] See Chapter I in the publication quoted in note. 25.

[31] A. Mazrui, "World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus", in S. Mendlovitz (ed.), *op. cit.*

[32] See D. de Rougemont, *L'Europe des régions*, Geneva, Centre européen de culture, 1976. Also L. Kohr, *The Breakdown of Nations*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, pp. 191-192.

[33] H. C. Simons, *Economic Policy for a Free Society*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1948, p. 125.

> "The great powers, those monsters of nationalism, must be broken up and replaced by small states; for, as perhaps even our diplomats will eventually be able to understand, only small states are wise, modest and, above all, weak enough, to accept an authority higher than their own."[34]

What we have said earlier about the trend of liberation movements only to create more States must now be qualified. It is futile to strive for some world State or federation comprising the present units with all the inequalities existing between them, while the already weaker members are further subdivided. Kohr's utopia is probably the one that could, if we had any sense, lead to an alternative world order. In his logic, the super-monsters called USA and USSR should be the first to be dismantled, preferably by dividing them into at least fifty units each. It has often been said, occasionally by people who prefer to live in the nineteenth century, that the unification of multiple small units into nation-states constituted a progress (*e.g.* Germany, Italy). Two world wars in the twentieth century should have taught us a lesson. With larger units, the danger of mutual destruction is merely elevated to a higher degree. If the USA and the USSR were split up, there would be ample opportunity for the smaller units to quarrel among themselves and leave the rest of the world alone.

It may well be that the dismantlement of the super-monsters is impossible without war. But what are students of international relations to do: discard the utopia and wait for the war to come?

## 2. New Priorities in International Relations Research

Rather than concentrating on units and actors, one can also redefine the scope of the study of international relations by indicating problem areas which need to be given special attention. What follows can, of course, not be an exhaustive catalogue of predominant themes of interest. It derives essentially from a preoccupation with the relationship between rich and poor segments in various societies.

### *(a) Basic Human Needs*

The dichotomy between developed and underdeveloped societies is being slowly overcome. One reason is that all societies are in a process of development or underdevelopment. The other is that global relationships are beginning to be perceived in a way that shows how the overdevelopment of some is linked to the underdevelopment of others. Maldevelopment is now the accepted term for this global process.[35]

What is also becoming generally accepted, after a few decades of discussions on "development", is that we are not solving anything with power dams, steel plants, or banana plantations as long as at least three basic human needs are not satisfied in all parts of the world: nutrition, health, and habitat. As simple as that. But it is usually the simple things that take time to be discovered.

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[34] L. Kohr, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[35] See J. Galtung *et al.*, *Measuring World Development*, Oslo, Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, 1974, Paper no. 11. Also Commission des organisations suisses de coopération au développement, *Maldéveloppement Suisse-Monde*, Geneva, CETIM, 1975.

One preoccupation of international law has been to determine a minimum standard guaranteed to individuals sojourning abroad. This was linked to an international economic system in which private property and the security of merchants were of prime importance. Perhaps it is time to determine the minimum standards of human existence in terms of the fulfilment of basic needs. Private property would then be a relevant criterion only to the extent that it serves to meet such needs. Parallel to the determination of a minimum standard, research must lead us to the determination of a maximum standard, one that will prevent social costs (such as investment in health care) resulting from over-consumption.

The complexity of this undertaking is readily apparent. If we want to liberate ourselves from a state-centric approach, pay attention to transnational relations, and deal with basic human needs, we have to determine levels of significance in what we are studying. To give one example: for whom are the transnational corporations producing food? What are the distribution patterns and the effects of consumption in different cultural settings? How does the industrial mode of food production affect different social structures? If we want to give serious answers to these questions we have to evaluate the relative contributions made by state actors and non-state actors. It is not enough to say that X numbers of multinationals have a turnover which is higher than the GNP of Y countries in the world. The relevant question is what these corporations are doing to meet basic needs as compared to States? Are state-owned and state-run corporations doing better than private ones? We will probably discover that some transnational corporations have done more for the satisfaction of basic needs than the governments of Haiti, Paraguay, or similar countries. A really careful examination of *who* does *what for whom* is still awaited.

As a brief reminder: if the study of international relations deals with basic human needs, problems such as those of energy, natural resources, science and technology will become its main preoccupation.

### *(b) Determining the Causes of Growing Inequalities*

As Robert McNamara keeps pointing out regularly since 1972, income inequalities of three kinds have been growing while the so-called development process has been taking place: between the rich and poor countries, within the group of poor countries, and between the richer and poorer segments of the populations in poor countries.[36] Sometimes it is in countries where the growth rate of the GNP is highest that the growth rate of inequality is also high. To give one example in the domain of internal inequalities: between 1960 and 1970, the growth rate of the Chinese GNP was 0.3 per cent per annum. Nevertheless, the country succeeded in reducing inequalities and fulfilling basic needs. During the same period, the Soviet GNP grew probably more than twenty times faster, and yet the country reached a stage of incapacity to feed its entire population. Denis de Rougemont predicted as far back as 1956 that NATO countries would one day have to come to the rescue of the Soviet Union to preserve it from serious internal strife.[37] Not feeding one's population means both not fulfilling basic needs and accepting inequalities.

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[36] See in particular the speech delivered on 14th April 1972, before the UNCTAD meeting at Santiago de Chili.

[37] D. de Rougemont, *L'aventure occidentale de l'homme*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1957, p. 255.

International relations students should be concerned with growing internal inequalities, because these most certainly are caused partly by the nature of external relations conducted by the countries concerned. Many recent studies on dependence, centre-periphery relations, structural violence, and imperialism provide us with conceptual frameworks for more research in this direction.[38]

A fruitful field for research are trans-boundary comparisons of production and consumption of vital resources and goods. It is important to know, for instance, what quantity of fertilizers is used in different countries to arrive at the same level of nutritional satisfaction. An example: Switzerland imports annually 1.4 million tons of wheat and feeds 1 million to animals for meat production. The meat thus produced contains a quantity of proteins equivalent to only 0.2 million tons of wheat. With the 0.8 million tons lost in the process, 6 million people could be fed for a year in other parts of the world.[39] Another example: 15 per cent of US consumption of fertilizers is used for growing lawns, cultivating golf courses, and adorning cemeteries. In absolute quantity, this is the amount of fertilizers at the disposal of all the farmers of India.[40] Trans-boundary comparisons highlight existing inequalities and inequities and, if they are put to good use, may lead the way out of global maldevelopment into a newly defined and for once real global development.

### *(c) New International Economic Order or Self-Reliance*

Since the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly passed its resolution on a New International Economic Order (NIEO) on 1 May 1974, this theme has been at the centre of debates in a wide variety of institutions all over the world. What is amazing is that the envisaged order is not all that new to deserve so much attention. The right to nationalization and better prices for raw materials may be important. Measures in this direction can be taken overnight, look dramatic, and yet leave the entire international economic structure intact. The "new" order, when closely examined, looks more like an intensification of the old one: more transfers of capital and technology, increased trade, and a reaffirmation of national sovereignty. The approach is profoundly state-centric. In their annual pilgrimage to New York and Geneva, Third World elites obtain Charters, Declarations, and Resolutions affirming their right to sovereignty, independence, and non-interference in domestic affairs, though everyone knows that the big powers safeguard their interests through the use of force, regardless of any written or spoken words or treaties. Hungary, the Dominican Republic, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Chile, Angola: do we need more examples for just the period between 1956 and 1976?

A good example in the economic sphere is the question of the seabed. According to UN resolutions and to the Cocoyoc Declaration, the resources of the seabed should be exploited by a supranational agency to benefit the poorer countries of the world. From the sea could come some of the resources that are now flowing out of the Third World into the industrial countries. Less food would go to the overfed. Poor countries would become less dependent on aid. But according to the American journalist Jack Anderson, who has published explosive news before now, the Oceanography Committee of the US House of Representatives proposed, on 15 March 1976, to counter Third World proposals on the exploitation of the seabed by setting up special military units to protect the activities of US private corporations.

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[38] See in particular J. Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 8, 1971, p. 81-118, and the case study on Switzerland by R. Gerster, "Schweizerisches Volkseinkommen and Dritte Welt", *Aussenwirtschaft*, vol. 30, 1976, pp. 33-71.

[39] Calculations prepared by Rudolf Strahm and the "Déclaration de Berne". See also *Leserzeitung*, Zurich, 18 May 1976.

[40] L. Brown, "Allons-nous aussi avoir faim?", *Tribune de Genève*, 17 February 1975, p. 21.

> "If the legislation clears both the House and the Senate, the US will give physical protection for the US mining consortiums ... Should any nation seek to prevent the operation ... US planes and warships would intervene under the legislation."[41]

If that became true, what was the use of the UN's adopting a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States with its repetitious demands for the respect of State sovereignty or economic cooperation?

Many Third World representatives at international gatherings find it deeply unjust to minimize the importance of the NIEO (however quite a few Third World militants agree with our position). The NIEO, if implemented at all, will create more dependence and more inequalities. What has happened to the first two Development Decades and to the Pearson Report may well happen to the NIEO: the discovery, ten years hence, that the Third World has once more been fed on words, this time at the request of its own leaders.

The NIEO has been praised as an achievement due to the "collective self-reliance" of the Third World. The term is misleading. What is really meant is increased bargaining power through Third World solidarity. Self-reliance has a deeper meaning: to rely on one's own forces at a local level whenever possible and to use inputs from the national, regional, or world levels only when local resources or knowhow are missing. Local self-reliance needs to be protected or at least tolerated by national governments. But if the representatives of these governments jointly ask for more foreign inputs, their action is counter-productive to self-reliance, not an expression of it. Studies of the feasibility of self-reliance as a development strategy, or as a new definition of development, must take a central place in international relations research.[42]

### *(d) Alternative Ways of Life*

The introduction of the concept of maldevelopment and the replacement of the dichotomy of developed versus developing countries by a distinction between *over* and *under*developed areas all over the world leads to the question: are we capable of inventing new ways of life for the overdeveloped?

In a satirical plea for "aid for the overdeveloped", G. Kocher brings out a few revealing figures. In the overdeveloped countries (10 per cent of the world's population), we find the following indicators: 98 per cent of the world's psycho-pharmacological consumption, 56 per cent of impotency and frigidity, 86 per cent of telephone calls, 80 per cent of suicides, 75 per cent of television consumption, 74 per cent of heart attacks, etc.[43] The World Health Organization has established that the USA and the USSR have the same percentage of schizophrenics in their populations: 0.9 per cent. That is over 4 million people in the two major industrial countries of the world!

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[41] J. Anderson, "Mining the Ocean Floor", *New York Post*, 30 March 1976.

[42] See the forthcoming book edited by J. Galtung, P. O'Brien, and R. Preiswerk, *Self-Reliance*.

This is not the place to draw up a list of evils afflicting the overdeveloped countries. Nor at this stage can we adequately summarize the thinking which is devoted to inventing an alternative society. At this very moment, however, many things are happening in Europe and North America which should be of some concern to the specialist in international relations.[44] Ways of life are not confined to national boundaries. They are exported and imported. If the population of one particular country asks for change, external forces will come into action. Political or business interests will begin to manifest themselves across State frontiers. Again, a whole new vital area is open to us for research.

### *(e) Making the Protection of Human Rights Effective*

The number of human rights conventions is increasing at a slower rate than the production of technical gadgets suited for undermining human rights. At this stage, we only have one effective human rights convention in the world: the European Convention supervised by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Any detainee in a European prison may address himself directly to the European Human Rights Commission. Prison authorities have no right to stop or alter letters. No fees have to be paid for the inquiries carried out by the Commission ; possibly the Commission will even provide legal counsel. The treatment of offenders, their rehabilitation and resocialization, are the object of many Council of Europe resolutions. Other fields, such as the recognition of diplomas, youth policy, public health (facilities for war cripples, establishment of a European blood bank) are concerns of an international organization which obviously deals with human beings.[45]

Some specialized agencies of the United Nations have the same objective, but their problem usually is that they do not have the same powers. When the ILO sets standards about working conditions of women and children or when the FAO determines minimum standards of nutrition, they are contributing to the satisfaction of basic needs. The concept of human rights must be given a broader connotation to include all of these activities and students of international relations must provide answers to the crucial question of the implementation of such broadly defined rights.

Just two more points on human rights. One significant endeavour would be to study the absence of conflict. Some societies get along without too much internal strife or external conflict, but preoccupation usually lies with conflict situations. Perhaps knowledge about less conflictual social behaviour may reveal ways and means of improving the human condition. The other line of thought concerns the participation of citizens in the effective protection of human rights. Amnesty International has been mentioned as an example of possible action. Many other organizations are mushrooming in various parts of the world. Their impact on the protection of human rights may be particularly significant in countries which have not committed themselves through interstate conventions.

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[43] G. Kocher, "Die Hilfe an Die überentwickelten Länder", *Tages-Anzeiger Magazin*, 22 May 1976.

[44] See the chapter on an alternative way of life for Sweden in *What Now?* the special edition of *Development Dialogue* edited in 1975 for the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly. In the 1976, no. 1 edition of this periodical is an article by J. Galtung on alternative life styles and a commentary on the reactions of the Swedish public concerning the proposals made.

[45] See in particular Council of Europe, *Man in a European Society*, Strasburg, April 1974, Doc. 3420.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this inquiry has been to propose constructive avenues for international relations research. New fields must be explored and new methods applied. Merely descriptive, or even explanatory and predictive approaches will only describe, explain, and predict mankind's pathological development without any chance of contributing to change.

One condition for this is that people should not simply be considered as objects of knowledge but as knowledge-producers. Let us conclude therefore with this statement by Johan Galtung: A less exploitative system of knowledge production implies that we are not content with doing

> "research on people, but together with people, not to act as a stimulus and registrar of responses, but to enter dialecticalty in a dialogue with the "researched". In that case, they would, in fact, no longer be researched people but be part of a team, of an effort to explore some aspect of the social condition of humankind together."[46]

With this in mind, we can begin to hope that the scope and methods of the study of international relations will expand to include a preoccupation with basic human needs more so than in the past.

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[46] J. Galtung, "Is Peaceful Research Possible? On the Methodology of Peace Research", in *Peace: Research, Education, Action*, Copenhagen, Christian Ejlers, 1975, p. 273.

# Contending Approaches to World Order*

Richard A. Falk**

The topic "contending approaches" calls for a mixture of description and appraisal. In the first sections of this article an attempt will be made to depict the contours of this emergent academic field of "world order" which is rapidly also becoming a fashionable term of art for political leaders. This descriptive account seeks to be informative, for the most part, and will draw some distinctions that seem helpful in discerning the various tendencies sheltered beneath the broad umbrella of world order.

Part IV of the article, which proceeds from an affinity with system-changing approaches to world order, acknowledges that a minimum realization of normative goals on a planetary scale requires profound changes in political culture and structure. I do not argue the case for this approach, but discuss some intellectual developments that are emerging at its frontiers, developments that strengthen its analysis and provide a more sensitive understanding of social forces at work in the world.

The overall consideration of world order, at this stage, regards it as a principal development in the North American intellectual context, and therefore, it should be complemented by related studies of peace research, conflict resolution, and alternative political futures being carried on elsewhere in the world.[1] The United States, of course, is a global presence, whose intellectual fashions, for better or worse, exert great influence even as they arouse antagonism elsewhere. In this regard, the global spread of world order studies and the suspicions engendered by its point of origin together help shape the context of inquiry.

## I. LEGITIMATING "WORLD ORDER"

It is less than a decade since "world order studies" began to be taken seriously as an academic focus for teaching and research, and throughout this recent period, its acceptance has been fitful and controversial. As is often the case, this resistance is expressive of a variety of concerns, some acknowledged, some not.

One characteristic ground of opposition has maintained that a world order focus invariably politicized the learning process, as it substituted advocacy for analysis. In an uphill battle, now largely won, academics promoting a world order outlook sought to display analytic credentials within a framework of

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[1] This broad terrain of intellectual endeavor is usefully surveyed in Juergen Dedring, *Recent Advances in Peace and Conflict Research*, Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Library of Social Research, Vol. 27, 1976; also helpful is L. Gunnar Johnson, "Conflicting Concepts of Peace in Contemporary Peace Studies," Sage Professional Papers, International Studies Series, Vol. 9, 02-046, 1976.

explicit values. Those who proposed a world order outlook essentially argued that an element of study appropriate to higher education involved understanding the place of values in the political process. They concluded that anyone who insisted that objectivity excluded normative considerations endorsed, wittingly, or not, the *status quo*. In other words, an academic inquiry could never be a neutral one.

Another major criticism of the world order approach is its concentration upon an alleged commitment to world government as a solution for the problems of international life.[2] In this context, critics consistently underscore "the utopian" and sterile character of the position, because they argue that its very unattainability makes the serious assessment of such a political solution a waste of time. This sort of criticism implicitly restricts "valuable" inquiry to those possibilities for political development that seem relevant, given the conventional wisdom on what it is plausible to expect. At times these critics combine their dismissal of world order as something fanciful with the opposite allegation that its very outlook is pernicious, as it exchanges the diverse character of relatively autonomous sovereign states for the brave new world of global tyranny. This particular argument against world order studies is explicitly ideological, but as most current world order specialists point out, the target is largely misconceived. Even among those world order specialists who favor "system-change" most are, by now, wary of centralizing solutions of the sort implied by world government, and increasingly favor design conceptions of political futures that stress the potentiality for decentralizing shifts in the arrangements of power. It is probably a greater mistake these days to associate world order studies with world federalism than with libertarian anarchism, or more aptly, both of these opposed political traditions should be treated as part of the ideological heritage of the world order focus. The world order approach, in fact, does not simply imply a specific configuration of political power and authority at the global level, but moves toward a comparative systems approach on such matters. Alternative political systems discernible at earlier stages in international history are, in effect, compared with both the present world order system built around sovereign states, and with a variety of possible future systems which range from highly centralized images of a world state, to federal and nonfederal conceptions of planetary governance, as well as to various regionalist conceptions. This comparison extends, also, to encompass a variety of decentralizing images drawn from utopian writings, in addition, attention is given to feudalist forms of organization, anarchist writing, communitarian socialism and ethnic separatist movements.[3]

There is also a strong cultural criticism present which, from a different perspective, rejects world order approaches for their naive rationalism including the conviction that solutions can be found by intellectuals for the dangers and tragedies of the world through a combination of analysis and good will.[4] The contention of these critics is that world order approaches are largely irrelevant because they generally proceed from an inadequate conception of human nature. Specifically, world order analysts are accused of overlooking the role of unconscious motivation in human behavior. This deficiency, in turn, is connected with the widespread failure in world order literature to appreciate the role of evil and irrationality in all spheres of human affairs, including politics. An adequate appreciation of human nature would either clarify the notion that "peace and justice" were unattainable because of the foibles of human nature or base transformative hopes on the expectation that the deepest levels of human motivation could be influenced. In either event, the political/economic preoccupations of world order studies are scorned as virtually irrelevant. Such a foreshortened sense of human character can yield either a pessimistic or an optimistic judgment about the future. Where the pessimistic view tends to reinforce standard approaches to international relations based on "balance of power," "deterrence," and "prudence," the optimistic view is hopeful about the long-distance religious and cultural potentialities of human society.[5]

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[2] See e.g. Tom Farer, "The Greening of the Globe: A Preliminary Appraisal of the World Order Models Project." *International Organization*. Vol. 31, pp. 129-127 (1977).

[3] For a presentation of this range of plausible alternative systems of world order see Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds*. New York, Free Press, 1975, esp. pp. 174-220.

[4] William Irwin Thompson, *Evil and World Order*. New York, Harper and Row, 1976.

World order studies have been vulnerable to this anti-rationalist line of criticism. Though the rest of the social sciences share this vulnerability, such criticism is more telling in this global context, where analysis often emphasizes the necessity for drastic change. It is impossible to fashion a convincing account of change unless coupled with an adequate conception of human nature. It is for this reason that world order theorizing has, in my view, been unsuccessful in its attempts to explain how to proceed from here to there, or, to employ more recent terminology, in its attempt to solve "the transition problem." In their defense, it is true that system changing world order approaches are becoming more aware of the relevance that culture, myth, religion, and value-change have for their central political preoccupation with alternative political futures.[6]

An opposite threat to world order perspectives than that posed by critics, but by no means a trivial one, arises from their superficial apparent adoption by political leaders as a mainstream prescription for foreign policy analysis. At the time of his inauguration, President Jimmy Carter addressed these words to foreign nations: "I want to assure you that the relations of the United States with the other countries and peoples of the world will be guided during my own Administration by our desire to shape a world order that is more responsive to human aspirations. The United States will meet its obligation to help create a stable, just, and peaceful world order."[7] On the one hand, the espousal of "world order politics" by the President of the United States is certainly an acknowledgement of the case of fundamental international adjustments carried out within a normative framework of widely shared values.[8] At the same time, however, the espousal, unaccompanied by modifications of traditional statecraft, reinforces the view that world order thinking is merely verbiage, and even worse, is an expression of the *status* quo ideological insistence that "orderly" procedures of adjustment can satisfy claims for change in international life. It is for this reason, therefore, that many who believe change will occur only as a consequence of a militant social movement from below, now regard the rhetoric of world order studies as a contemporary opiate of the people, functioning virtually as an imperial ideology designed to quiet down emergent discontent. The extent to which world order studies has been generated from the United States should also be noted, as it is perceived elsewhere as a managerial "fix" for global issues that merely represents a new geopolitical strategy for perpetuating global economic, political and cultural hegemony. Such an attempt by those at a geopolitical pinnacle to define the terms of conflict and resolution is correctly regarded with suspicion by those in more dependent positions.

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[5] In effect, either the flaws of human character are integral to the potentialities for politics, or these flaws can in time be removed so as to establish far brighter potentialities for political behavior than now seems plausible.

[6] For one major attempt to project an alternative future based upon cultural factors see Ali A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures*, New York, The Free Press, 1976; see also important earlier work by F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West*, New York, Macmillan, 1946.

[7] "Address by President Carter to People of Other Nations," Dept. State Bull., Vol. LXXVI, Feb. 14, 1977, p. 123.

Along related lines is the concern that world order advocacy by statesmen and their intellectual cadre falsely reassures the public about the capacity of elites and official institutions to meet the new agenda of international challenges. It is up to the world order studies movement to distance itself from official rhetoric in order to avoid getting swallowed up by it. Such avoidance is not easy, and it is always tempting to assuage ivory tower insecurities by invoking supportive statements of "hard-headed" practical men and women of affairs to demonstrate the acceptance and acceptability of world order concerns. In the last analysis, I think, we must acknowledge a definite split within the ranks of world order studies between system-maintainers, who seek to appropriate world order rhetoric for marginal reforms instituted by official elites, and system transformers, who seek a populist style involving militant challenge to carry forward their demands for fundamental reform.

A related objection to the world order approach is associated with its apparent emphasis upon order as the missing ingredient in an acceptable world system. Though the word "order" has repressive connotations which are evident in the phrase "law and order," it implies that strict enforcement of legal rules is the essence of world order. Such a static image is especially inappropriate for those world perspectives that advocate a process of transformation to realize minimum goals. In this respect the emphasis on "order" seems deceptive and overly static. In theory, the concept of "world order" could be treated as satisfied by any stable arrangement of parts, including tyrannical and exploitative arrangements. Some academics, therefore, are abandoning the earlier label "world order" in favor of more *dynamic* and *value-laden* terminology such as "a movement for a just world," "just world order," or "human world order." In contrast, however, those who are primarily concerned with stability and managerial efficiency, view the central imagery of "order" as an asset, which partly accounts for its acceptability to current political leaders. As is often the

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8. For a mainstream discussion of these possibilities, alive to the contradictory pulls of domestic and international forces, see Stanley Hoffmann, "No Choices, No Illusions," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1976-77, 25:97-140.

case, then, the battle over definitions hides a deeper battle over substance.

A final issue of perspective reflects the division between idealists and realists as to the agenda of global reform. Critics of world order studies mount both lines of attack, accusing world order thinking of being simultaneously "idealistic" in its conception of human potentiality, even as it is "morbid" in it prophetic insistence on mounting dangers of planetary catastrophe. Two responses in the world order literature can be noted. System-maintenance world order approaches deny the charge, rejecting apocalyptic diagnosis and making clear their commitment to gradualism that can over time improve the quality of order in world affairs without undermining current modes of stability. System-transformers tend to accept the charge with the proviso of claiming for their position the imprimatur of "realism," arguing that unless positive potentialities for global reform are quickly realized, international trends and risks will introduce the decline and, eventually, the collapse of civilization. Their faith in positive potentialities may not be very strong, but their perceptions do lead them to the conclusion that it is necessary to try by all available means to act as though a peaceful and just world is, indeed, a possibility and that without it we will face the virtual inevitability of gruesome apocalypse.

It is possible, of course, to downplay this upsurge of concern with the future of the world. Perhaps, as some claim, this concern is nothing more durable than an elaborate pyschic preparation for the advent of the year 2000. After all, as the year 1000 approached, we know there was much speculation about the end of the world, as well as about its imminent salvation. It is probably beneficial to condition world order inquiry by such realizations to encourage greater modesty of tone, and humility of expectations. Part of what has given "world order" a bad name in some circles is undoubtedly, its tendency to cry "wolf" about the immediate future seeking a hearing by the shrill insistence that the human race has only a decade or so to set things straight. Such literal warnings are simply not credible. I think this lesson is being slowly learned, and that world order projects and studies, as a consequence, are increasingly aware that transformation of the world system presupposes a long, ambiguous struggle dependent on the emergence of a robust global social movement. There is no "quick-fix" in the offing, only the slim hope that there will be enough time for a global learning process among elites and masses to evolve in such a way as to be able to encourage a series of political adjustments in the world that gradually shift the weight of behavior in directions that are humane and ecologically sensitive.

## II. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF WORLD ORDER

Reporting on a widely publicized symposium, held at Bellagio, Italy in 1965, and devoted to "Conditions of World Order," Stanley Hoffmann notes that from the outset discussion was muddled by conference participants who tended to use world order in distinct, inconsistent ways. Hoffmann praises the conference

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9. Saul Mendlovitz in his role as co-director of the World Order Models Project has been seeking to initiate such a movement in recent years.

chairman, Raymond Aron, for providing "the composers with a key for their symphony" by first discerning five possible meanings for the term "world order" and then selecting one of these as the basis for further discussion. According to Hoffmann these five meanings were distinguished as follows:

> Two of the meanings were purely descriptive: order as an arrangement of reality, order as the relations between the parts. Two were analytical—partly descriptive, partly normative: order as the minimum conditions for existence, order as the minimum conditions for coexistence. The fifth conception was purely normative: order as the conditions for the good life.[10]

Aron then proposed that the conferees adopt the fourth variant and concentrate their discussion "... under what conditions would men (divided in so many ways) be able not merely to avoid destruction, but to live together relatively well in one planet."[11]

A procedure along these lines also meant that the frame of reality is the political experience of the planet as a whole (i.e. the world), constituted by states as principal actors and shaped both by the character and diversity of domestic structures of authority, as well as by a variety of transnational actors and forces.

More recently, however, Hedley Bull has articulated, with greater precision and elegance, a similar conception of world order: "By world order I mean those patterns or dispositions of human activity that sustain the elementary or primary goals of social life among mankind as a whole."[12] Such a position acknowledges the fact that a range of ordering options exists to determine how world order might be acheived, but supports the primacy of the state in relation to individuals and the state system in relation to collectivities. Bull draws a sharp distinction between the role of government as the principal source of domestic order and the more primitive forms of order operative in what he regards as the anarchical setting of international society, anarchy being conceived in the technical sense of the absence of government.

Bull maintains that the achievement of order can be assessed only by reference to the realization of "elementary goals of social life" identified as common interests of all peoples: "Thus the facts of human vulnerability to violence and proneness to resort to it lead men to the sense of common interests in restricting violence. The fact of human interdependence for material needs leads them to perceive a common interest in ensuring respect for agreements. The facts of limited abundance and limited human altruism lead them to recognize common interests in stabilizing possession."[13] Rules as incorporated in international law are generally regarded as beneficial for the clarification and preservation of these common interests, but are not effective in relation to fundamental security for the state. For international society, which lacks governmental capacities and is composed of members with a weak perception for common interests, order is obtained principally by such mechanisms as "balance of power" and "deterrence," encouraging mutual restraint in a manner compatible with the perceived separate interests of governments:"Within international society, however, as in other societies, order is the consequence not merely of contingent facts such as this (i.e., balance of power), but of a sense of common interests in the elementary goals of social life; rules prescribing behavior that sustain these goals; and institutions that help to make these rules effective."[14]

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[10] Stanley Hoffmann,"Report of the Conference on Conditions of World Order-June 12-19, 1965, Villa Serbelloni Bellagio, Italy." *Daedalus*. Spring 1966, pp. 455-478, at 456.

[11] Same.

[12] Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York, Columbia, 1977, at p. 20.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 53-4.

Bull regards "order" of this character as valuable in itself and as "the condition of the realization of other values," including the pursuit of justice.[15] At the same time, however, Bull regards the demands for justice as relating, in a profound way, to the search for acceptable forms of order. If the parties can agree on just results, or if a consensus on an international level can be achieved, then order and justice can be reconciled. It is when there is disagreement among states as to the character of just results that the more fundamental ordering goals of international society on which agreement can be presumed suggest, to Bull, the need to accord priority to considerations of order as against the claims of justice.

Finally, Bull considers alternatives to the present reliance on the state system for the achievement of order and justice on a global scale. He concludes that the state system is durable, despite its defects and vulnerabilities, and superior to any alternative conception of world order that can be plausibly presented at this stage of human experience.[16]

A feature of this Aron-Bull approach to world order, surely the dominant orientation in academic and governmental circles, is its hostility toward "normative" conceptions of world order that stress the pursuit of valued goals as the object of inquiry. Aron calls for the abandonment of such an emphasis because it only leads "to platitudes and to an acrimonious reproduction of the conflicts of values that exist in the world."[17] Bull acknowledges the appropriateness of studying the pursuit of justice as seriously as the pursuit of order, but he believes it is a "corrupting" trait to introduce policy recommendations into the study of world political activity: "The search for conclusions that can be presented as 'solutions' or 'practical advice' is a corrupting element in the contemporary study of world politics, which properly understood is an intellectual activity and not a practical one. Such conclusions are advanced less because there is any solid basis for them than because there is a demand for them which it is profitable to satisfy."[18] Bull closes his book and concludes his argument with this admonition: "The fact is that while there is a great desire to know what the future of world politics will bring, and also to know how we should behave in it, we have to grope about in the dark with respect to the one as much as with respect to the other. It is better to recognize that we are in darkness than to pretend that we can see the light."[19]

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 233-256.

[17] View attributed to Aron in Hoffmann, note 10, at p. 456.

[18] Bull, note 12, pp. 319-320.

The Bellagio meeting also affirms Hedley Bull's muddling-through-with-the-state-system view of the future both as a prediction and prescription. This approach is aptly treated as a world order approach because it is concerned with the conditions for a satisfactory persistence of the present state system, as well as with comprehending its operating dynamics. Its normative contribution is to make these conditions explicit so that policymakers and power-wielders will be more likely to perform in an intelligent manner. At the core of this approach is a neo-Machiavellian type of advice to the prince, in effect, a counsel of prudence given a spirit of urgency in an era of global politics beset by the pervasive menace of nuclear warfare.

Another quite different approach to world order is a curious blend of ideology and behavioral methodology. The ideology associates world order with degrees of centralization of political authority, while the behavioral methodology measures this tendency by reference to quantifiable elements of international politics. Martin Rochester structures his inquiry by taking note of what he calls "[a] favorite pastime of observers of international relations ... to speculate on how much progress has been made toward 'world order' and how much progress can be expected in the future." Rochester contends that this speculation has concentrated on "the evolving role of international institutions" and has tended to be flawed by being "normative, impressionistic, and unstructured."[20] His conception of world order seems to reduce to the question of how much measurable institutionalization of behavior occurs in international life. This focus leads Rochester to undertake such empirical exercises as the comparison of the roles of the Permanent Court of International Justice, operative between World War I and World War II,and the International Court of Justice, operative since World War II so as to assess whether recourse to international judicial settlement procedures is rising or falling.[21] The central tenet of Rochester's view is that if states are using these judicial facilities more frequently and regularly to resolve their disputes with one another, then it is proper to conclude that a growth of world order has taken place. Political context is ignored. Only the criteria of institutional roles, which include salience and resources, are discussed; there is no mention of the intervening experiences of ideological rivalry (East-West), of decolonialization, and of technological innovation as affecting whether or not institutional facilities will be used and for what.

Such a conception of world order is, of course, absurdly restricted. It implicitly endorses governmental solutions of a supra-national character and identifies the growth of world order, presumably something beneficial with the elaboration of international institutional capabilities. This approach is an empirically-oriented extension of world government thinking about world order, as it confines alternatives for the state system to a single model of political development on the global level. Such an emphasis also takes into account the rise of functional pressures which tend to foster increased international cooperation. It implicitly rejects the earlier view regarding a constitutional convention by government actors as a necessary step in the process of building a consummated system of world order. Another implication of Rochester's viewpoint is that the state system *per se*, however well it keeps order in the Bull sense, is nevertheless inherently incapable of qualifying as a world order system because it is insufficiently centralized. As far as Rochester is concerned, world order is dynamic in a structural and not in a normative sense because it involves the movement toward institutional centralization. Except by implication we have no perception that a centralized system will be more efficient in realizing a set of world order values than the current system.

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

[20] J. Martin Rochester, "International Institutions and World Order: The International System as a Prismatic Polity," *Sage Professional Papers, International Relations Series*, Vol. 3, 02-925, 1974, p. 5.

[21] William Coplin and Rochester, "The PCIJ, ICJ, League and UN: A Comparative Empirical Survey, "*Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Vol. 62, pp. 529-550.

A more sophisticated extension of this perspective, but one that avoids creating normative misimpressions that might derive from the explicit adoption of world order terminology, is the currently fashionable tendency of international relations specialists to study "interdependence." "Measurable interdependence," indeed, makes an effort to combine the objectivity of analysis with behavioral criteria of assessment (that which can be quantified), while not remaining oblivious to changes in behavioral features of international life, which include the rise of transnational phenomena of many kinds.[22] Such an emphasis is transactional and does not view politics from the outlook of "the world," nor does it assess performance of global political systems from the standpoint of normative criteria, or values.

Admittedly, normative approaches to world order usually proceed from specific agendas of concerns and on the basis of a definite program of goals. Saul Mendlovitz and Thomas Weiss define world order as "the study of international relations and world affairs that focuses on the manner in which mankind can significantly reduce the likelihood of international violence and create minimally acceptable conditions of worldwide economic well-being, social justice, ecological stability, and participation in decision-making processes. In short, a student of world order seeks to achieve and maintain a warless and more just world to improve the quality of human life."[23] Implicit in such a view of world order is the quest for a new system of power/authority. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mendlovitz and Weiss assert that "[a] world order inquiry involves the use of relevant utopias culminanting in the statement of the investigator's preferred world." From this conviction that a new system of world order is necessary, there follows the generalized depreciation of the state as an instrument of order or justice. Non-state actors, ranging from international institutions to multi-national corporations, consequently, are looked upon with favor and a concerted effort is made to depict a plausible, minimally violent path of transition to the model or utopia. In the words of Mendlovitz and Weiss, "a concrete behavioral statement of transformation from the present system and to the projected model is necessary."[24]

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[22] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, Boston, Little-Brown, 1977. See also Miriam Camps, "The Management of Interdependence: A Preliminary View," New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1974; Richard Rosecrance and others, " Whither Interdependence?" *International Organization*, Vol. 31, Summer 1977, pp. 425-472.

[23] Mendlovitz and Weiss "The Study of Peace and Justice: Toward a Framework for Global Discussion," in Louis René Beres and Harry Targ, ed., *Planning Alternative Future*, New York, Praeger, 1975, pp. 148-174, at 157.

Gerald and Patricia Mische believe that two types of world order must be distinguished on normative grounds. The first, which they reject, "is the order that presently exists on the planet, an order of dependent relationships between allegedly independent sovereignties that are dominated by raw economic, monetary and military power rather than by law.[25] The second, which they endorse, "envisions an order of relationships determined by law and based on universal social justice for all persons; an order whose operative principles embrace the centrality and sovereignty of the human person." In contrast to Bull, the Misches do not regard the state as a minimally adequate agent for the realization of human dignity, and world order in their normative sense means a diminished role for the state and an end of the state system. Their vision of the future is specified in ideological terms as involving a mix of functional centralization ("e.g. peace-keeping, transnational ecological protection, regulation of world trade and of an integrated monetary system, regulation of the uses of the seas, and some global taxation") and political decentralization via dismantling of the national security roles of the state. Here again the idea of world order is associated with a relevant utopia whose attainability by education and struggle is affirmed as the sole alternative to catastrophic global destiny.

Unlike the analytical approaches, a normative approach necessarily includes tendering practical advice for activists. It seeks to shape and inspire a world movement for systemic change, and is not-content with understanding how the present system operates. At the same time, however, the search for an integrated vision of a preferred future specified in terms that suggest attainability "within a reasonable time period (combining considerations of utopian quest and political feasibility) does not necessarily prejudge the character of a solution. So long as the values posited can be realized, any structure will do, although the implications seem to call for some buildup of international institutions in a deliberate fashion to carry out some of the activities now administered at the state level. In this respect, there is an apparent similarity to Rochester's approach, although for normative approaches such a tendency is one feature of an emergent alternative system rather than an expression of the essence of what world order is concerned about. The advice implicit in radically normative approaches to world order, as compared to Aron and Bull, is directed towards those who would join in the struggle to build support for distinct and oppositional conceptions of security and well-being rather than support those characteristics of the war-oriented, sovereignty-inclined state system. Mendlovitz, Weiss and the Misches, in effect, are saying that the evolution of the state system inclines the world toward destruction; that no way to arrest these self-destructive tendencies is implicit in the traditional forms of statecraft, and, consequently, that a movement for global reform is needed as soon as possible.

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[25] Gerald and Patricia Mische, *Toward A Human World Order*, New York, Paulist Press, 1977, p. 64.

My approach to world order combines analytic, empirical, ideological, and normative concerns in its definition. Such a conception of world order involves studying the extent to which a given past, present, or future arrangement of power and authority is able to realize a set of human goals that are affirmed as beneficial for all people and apply to the whole world, and achieve some objectivity by their connection with a conception of basic human needs, as required for the healthy development of the human person. The set of human goals, or values, can be specified in a variety of testable and semi-testable ways. Past and future systems can be compared with the present system to the extent that relative goal realization can be determined in measurable terms. The role of the state and other international actors is left open, as are the contours of a satisfactory future world order system.

This definition of world order does not assume an ideological stance, as such, because in this sense it is an instance of an analytic definition. Underlying my assessment of the historical situation, however, is also my conviction that the state system is not capable of a satisfactory performance in relation to the goals set forth, and that contained within its main operating dynamic are excessive risks of thermonuclear, ecological, economic, and cultural deterioration, and even of collapse. For these reasons, my approach to world order does entail the construction of relevant utopias, as well as the depiction of transition paths. However, the role of the state, as distinct from the state system, is uncertain in a transformed system. This conception is also a normative one, to the extent that it advocates reliance on "central guidance" mechanisms in response to the functional imperatives of interdependence and decentralization in response to ethical imperatives of humane patterns of governance. My relevant utopia, as such, is similar in its broad conception to the one outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische, although it considers the domestic arenas of states as the most critical context for world order transformation and is correspondingly skeptical of direct approaches to global reform by way of strengthening the United Nations and the like.

## III. DELIMITATION OF WORLD ORDER STUDIES

There are, I believe, two broad and rather dissimilar endeavors being carried forward beneath the rubric of world order studies at the present time. The first endeavor involves the narrower effort to reorient international relations away from its purely Machiavellian orientation. Mainstream international relations seeks to explicate how the system works under evolving circumstances; it associates statesmanship and even political virtue with adapting to the logic of interstate relations in a prudent, yet unsentimental fashion.[26] In this vein Henry Kissinger and Chou En Lai can be viewed as master practitioners because they exhibited such a successful command over the dynamics of the system for the sake of securing national advantage. In contrast, a world order approach to international relations is relatively disinterested in manipulative skills and stresses, and tries, instead, to elevate normative, futurist, and structural concerns. To be more specific, world order approaches focus on the character of world order problems and on goals and values as tests of whether the system is working, and for whom. A world order approach of this variety envisions positive and negative scenarios based on interpreting trends and tendencies, converting the future into a present concern of urgent character; as well, structural features of the existing system of world order based on sovereign states are appraised, especially to undergird a critique and to guide the search for, and design of more acceptable world order systems based on an innovative combination of actors and orientations.[27]

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[26] See e.g. Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*, New York, Doubleday, 1966; Henry Kissinger, *American Foreign Policy*, New York, Norton, expanded., 1979; Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, New York, Knopf, 5th ed., 1973.

The second type of world order studies cuts a broader path that flows from an initial diagnosis of the present world situation rather than from the political system that had evolved over past centuries. The world situation, increasingly, generates a variety of challenges and poses a vast array of social problems that seem to cluster around war/peace issues, economic well-being concerns, human rights, and ecological balance. In addition, the interactions between population growth, political repression, and economic development strategies suggest that the problems posed are not susceptible to *separate* treatment, but must be dealt with in a *systemic* or *organic* way. This systemic way of problem-solving crystallizes into an ecological orientation in some formulations, ecology being conceived as the study of how to sustain the quality of life in *total* systems. A holistic outlook leads ecological types of world order studies to stress synthesis as well as analysis in the educational process, and, as such, works toward building up integrated patterns of understanding.

This ecological type of world order studies is inclined to undertake various kinds of model-building exercises to examine the reality and extent of integrative patterns, assessing global policy options of states or regions from the standpoint of the whole. Such global models are inter-disciplinary and give varying degrees of attention to the workings of international relations, while attempting to construct a viable future in defiance of the main governmental centers of power and authority.[28] The models can assume any character, of course, and it is only now that beginnings are being made to emphasize the urge to be simultaneously normative, futurist, and structural, as well as to integrate economic and political assessments of potentiality. The Latin American model of the Fundacion Bariloche, with its focus on the capital reallocations required to achieve a development path where most of the population would achieve an income sufficient for basic needs, is illustrative.[29] These global models are beginning to combine the rigor of their methodology with the inclusion of "softer" considerations bearing on political effects, such as authoritarian outputs of a growth

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27. For inquiry along these lines see Falk, note 3.

28. For useful survey and evaluation see Sam Cole, "Global Models and the International Economic Order," Elmsford, N.Y., Pergamon Press, 1977.

29. A. Herrera and others, *Catastrophe or New Society?* IDRC, Ottawa, Conn., 1976; see also G. Chichilnisky's, "Development Patterns and the International Order" *Joural of International Affairs*, Vol. 31, Fall/Winter, 1977, pp. 275-304.

maximization and equalization inputs in a variety of Third World contexts.

The point taken here is that interdisciplinary research and teaching teams are starting to explore and redesign the potentialities of political systems at all levels of societal generalization. These potentialities will remain inert, however, unless actualized by a social movement of support. They already constitute a species of "dangerous knowledge," because they show that technocratic modes of analysis and projection can be adapted to promote quite different societal goals than the ones being pursued by an existing leadership that partly bases its claim of legitimacy on the objectivity and necessity of its economic development program.[30]

These types of world order studies share a combination of normative, futurist, and structural concerns explored in relation to a disciplined framework of inquiry. Despite this common orientation that justifies the extension of the term world order, there are some critical distinctions with respect to goals and expectations. The diversities can be discussed in the following terms:

- system-maintaining approaches;
- system-enchancing approaches;
- system-transforming approaches.

Reality, of course, does not divide as neatly as our analytic categories suggest, and a given undertaking may partake of more than one of these outlooks on global reform. What is emphasized here, however, is that attitudes toward change, with respect to the depth and extent of global reform, are the essence of the world order endeavor.

**System-Maintaining Approaches.**

Those who control the dominant institutions of government and business seek above all else to discover the means to sustain the system. Their search is for stability under constantly changing conditions. The intellectual outlook of system-maintaining approaches to world order is closely associated with sustaining particular positions and privilege in the *status quo.* The Trilateral Commission, founded in 1973, at the initiative of David Rockefeller, epitomizes a system-maintaining perspective on world order.[31] The Trilateral Commission was formed as a private initiative designed to link élites in North America, Western Europe, and Japan, especially encouraging consensus formation around issues of international economic policy. As has been widely noticed a surprising number of its American members and consultants have moved into positions of policymaking prominence in the Carter Administration.[32] That is, there is an easy flow between playing official roles in policy formation within the existing system and the kind of image of global reform associated with Trilateral type of thinking. This is exemplified by Zbigniew Brzezinski's shift from his role as intellectual mentor of the Trilateral Commission to his current job as chief foreign policy advisor to President Carter. The essence of Brzezinski's views is that world economic arrangements shaped after World War II served well until recently, but now need to be significantly recast by cooperative action on the part of the governments of the advanced industrial countries, i.e. the Trilateral sector of the world economy. With post-war European reconstruction having been completed, with colonialism fully destroyed, and with the rise in prominence of OPEC, a new more pluralistic situation will require more pluralistic economic arrangements so as to encourage a healthy economic dynamic. This interpretation of world requirements leads to an emphasis on trade, money, international financial institutions, and energy policy.[33] In the conceptual frame of world order analysis two observations are relevant:

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[30] For a discussion of "dangerous knowledge" along these lines see Falk, "A New Paradigm for International Legal Studies: Prospects and Proposals," Yale Law Journal, Vol 84, pp. 969-1021, at 1009-1012.

[31] For description of Trilateral Commission see pamphlet entitled "The Trilateral Commission" issued at its inception and seasonal accounts of activities in newsletter issued quarterly under title Trialogue. See also *Trilateral Commission Task Force Reports 1-7*. New York, New York University, 1977.

[32] For a full account of impact on Carter presidency see Craig S. Karpel, "Cartergate: The Death of Democracy," *Penthouse*, Nov. 1977, pp. 69-74, 90, 104-6, 130.

- first, the system-maintaining propensities of principal governments and elites;
- secondly, the priority attached to coordination of economic policy as the basis for an improved world order.

A system-maintaining perspective tends to emphasize the strengthening and further creation of specialized international institutions which handle economic issues. Daniel Bell, for instance, in a typical statement of this outlook, writes the following: "The problem, then, is to design effective international instruments—in the monetary, commodity, trade and technology areas—to effect the necessary transitions to a new international division of labor that can provide for economic and, perhaps, political stability."[34] An interesting feature of system maintaining approaches to world order is the stress placed upon *technical* solutions and the corresponding disregard of the political or normative. One searches virtually in vain through the writings of the Trilateral Commission and kindred perspectives for positive proposals on the United Nations or analyses of the dangers of warfare and ecological decay.

The dominant preoccupation of Trilateralists and their allies is to keep the world economy growing in the face of three sets of threats: rivalry with Communist powers, the challenge from the Third World, and the deepening competition among the Trilateral countries themselves. On the level of prescription this assessment of the world scene leads to military preparedness in relation to to Communism, and to superficial concessions and accommodationism in relation to the Third World.[35] Internal conflict within the Trilateral sector is most difficult to handle, partly because it creates a tension between the competitive pressures that are escalating in a period of economic stagnancy, inflation, and unemployment, and partly because such tensions imperil a geopolitical partnership on matters of security, a partnership reinforced by a shared outlook on cultural and many other global policy issues.[36] At the present time, a frantic effort is underway to avoid a repetition of trade wars by reconciling nationalist insistence on protectionism with internationalist pressure for openness. This appreciation of danger induces an intense desire to tinker with the world order system to avoid further deteriorations. Among the elements of the situation that provoke concern are a heavy debt burden being borne by a variety of Third World and European countries, an intensifying struggle for export outlets as productive capacity seems to grow beyond demand in a whole series of product areas, an awareness that OPEC leverage on prices and supply makes the industrial countries vulnerable, and a related awareness that new sources of energy are both necessary and problematical. The cumulative effect is to create a fear that the world economic system could unravel, producing grave domestic crises and heightening international tensions in alarming respects. In this regard, the Trilateral Commission seeks to moderate these dire prospects by divising mutually acceptable arrangements that can "manage interdependence."

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[33] For Brzezinski's views on these issues see "Recognizing the Crisis," *Foreign Policy* 17:63-74, Winter 1974-75.

[34] Bell, "The Future of World Disorder," *Foreign Policy* 27:109-136, Summer 1977, at p. 134.

[35] E.g. Tom J. Farer, "The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accommodation," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 54, Oct. 1975, pp. 79-95.

Another quite different dimension of Trilateralist thinking explores the conviction that international tensions reflect the excesses of democratic patterns of governance that produce behavior inconsistent with elite interests; for instance, protectionist demands by certain labor and business interests to safeguard jobs and profits in noncompetitive sectors of domestic industry. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover Trilateral sponsorship of studies lamenting the "excesses" of democracy and affirming the importance of inculcating public respect for authority structures.[37] Among these excesses in democratic societies is the alleged tendency of intellectuals to withdraw their commitment to the legitimacy of the present order.[38]

Such a system-maintaining perspective currently dominates the foreign policy debate. On the future of the Panama Canal, for instance, the pro-treaty advocates are "rational imperialists" arguing that imperial prerogatives are preserved in a manner acceptable to the Panamanians; on the other hand, the anti-treaty, "sentimental imperialists," believe that any symbolic renunciation of prerogatives weakens the United States' claim on canal facilities. Since both positions insist that the interventionary prerogatives be safeguarded, neither addresses the core question of imperialist legitimacy. Given the dynamic of self-determination, why should use and access to the canal be entrusted to the unilateral discretions of a single great power? In anticipation of this question, a system-reforming position would propose Panamanian sovereignty over the canal, whereas a system-changing position would entrust the canal to some supranational control arrangement designed on the basis of global community considerations to assure peaceful use for all and belligerent use for none.

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[36] See Zbigniew Brzezinski, "U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for Focus," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57, July 1973, pp. 708-727, see also gentle critique by Richard H. Ullman, "Trilateralism: 'Partnership' for What?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 55, Oct. 1976, pp. 1-19.

[37] Michael Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission*, New York, New York University Press, 1975.

[38] *Ibid.*, at pp. 6-7.

"System-maintaining" approaches to world order can be associated with governing groups and their supporting elites in the most powerfully constituted states. The organizing objective is to assure efficient economic performance, as measured by economic growth and calculated by GNP increases. Whatever means facilitate such growth are positive and should be encouraged; whatever means interfere, even if it is the exercise of democratic rights themselves, are negative and should be curtailed. The international distribution of power, wealth, and prestige is relevant only to the extent that it poses managerial challenges. The state system, with its reliance on war as the ultimate arbiter of conflict, is accepted as inevitable, and the ecological dangers engendered by industrial-technological pressures are viewed as containable.

**System-Reforming Approaches.**

A wider range of initiatives can be associated with a system-reform focus. The critical feature, in this instance, is the realization that structural modifications over a broad series of subject-matters will be required to satisfy both interests and values, but that these modifications are not so fundamental as to call into question the basic ordering of international relations around the role and predominance of the sovereign state. The 1980's Project of the Council on Foreign Relations is a good example of a system-reformist perspective. As Richard Ullman, the architect and director of the undertaking, writes: "The 1980's Project is based upon the belief that serious effort and integrated forethought can contribute — indeed, are indispensable — to progress in the next decade toward a more humane, peaceful, productive, and just world."[39] The pretension of the 1980's Project, despite its sponsorship by an elite American institution like the Council on Foreign Relations, is to study the future in a universalistic spirit of ideological neutrality and policy pluralism; in Ullman's words: "It is not the Project's purpose to arrive at a single or exclusive set of goals. Nor does it focus upon the foreign policy or national interests of the United States alone. Instead, it seeks to identify goals that are compatible with the perceived interests of most states, despite differences in ideology and in level of economic development."[40]

Another feature of reformist thinking is a concentration of speculative analysis on a period long enough to be independent of current contexts of choice, but short enough to engage the concerns of policy-makers. Thus, the 1980's Project starts from the premise "that many of the assumptions, policies, and constitutions that have characterized international relations during the past 30 years are inadequate to the demands of today and foreseeable demands of the period between now and 1990 or so."[41] It is interesting to note that the treatment of time, the historical as well as the futurist aspect, is balanced in such a way as to encompass the span of past experience (30 years) as the basis for thinking ahead.

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[39] For representative statement by Ullman see "Foreward: The 1980's Project" in F. Hirsch and M. Doyle and Edward L. Morse, *Alternatives to Monetary Disorder*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1977, at p. XI.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. X.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. IX.

The 1980's Project has definitely broken new ground in its attempt to construct an integrated picture of policy choices for the years ahead. It also has opted for a global, as distinct from an American, perspective, although the identity of the Council on Foreign Relations, as well as the main body of participants and their early proposals make it doubtful whether the influence of its American auspices/orientation can be overcome. The globalist aspiration, nevertheless, is significant in itself and expresses some awareness that the expanding planetary agenda must be handled in as cooperative a manner as possible. Furthermore, The 1980's Project is normative in a system-reforming manner, acknowledging the need for normative adjustments in international relations, but failing to question the basic structure of a state-centric system. The ambitious scale and august sponsorship of The 1980's Project is, in any event, a revealing acknowledgement that world order approaches in the basic sense of normative, futurist, and structural studies of the global situation are relevant even for those whose primary orientation is managerial.

### System-Transforming Approaches.

The distinguishing characteristic of system-transforming approaches to world order is the acceptance of the need to transform the structure of international relations by diminishing the role of sovereign states in some decisive respects. Even more so than with advocates of system-reform, those who propose system-transformation seek an integrated strategy of change guided by certain values and aiming toward the construction of a coherent new system of world order.

The World Order Models Project (WOMP) of the Institute for World Order provides an example of a system-transforming perspective. WOMP, initiated in 1968, is constituted by groups of scholars associated with principal regions and/or actors of the world (Latin America, Africa, Japan, Europe, Soviet Union, India, United States, with indirect representation for China and for the network of transnational actors). The WOMP group, through periodic interaction, evolved a framework of world order values which were general enough to command consensus and yet distinctive enough to establish an identity. The values agreed upon as suitable criteria for world order appraisal were as follows: minimization of collective violence; maximization of economic well-being; maximization of social and political justice; and maximization of ecological quality.[42] There was discussion at WOMP meetings as to whether the goal of democratizing participation in authority structures within states and in the world system should be emphasized through the device of formulating a fifth value of participation or by being incorporated in the interpretation of the agreed four. In essence, the issue was left unresolved with each author free to proceed as he or she wished. It was also understood that the affirmation of a series of values could not be fully reconciled with the concrete realities of social choice where value tradeoffs must generally be made. The varying ways of ranking priorities brought great diversity to the substance of WOMP manuscripts despite the agreement on a common framework of inquiry. This diversity is most evident in relation to the proposals made for global reforms, especially the contours of a transformed world order system that could be projected as attainable by the end of the century.

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[42] For background and rationale of WOMP see Saul Mendlovitz and Tom Weiss "Toward Consensus: The World Order Models Project of the Institute for World Order," in *Introduction to World Peace Through Law*, Chicago, World Without War Publications, 1973, pp. 74-97; see also Mendlovitz's Introduction to Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order*, New York, Free Press, 1975, pp. VII-XVII; on the specification of the values see Falk, note 3, pp. 11-39. See also Fouad Ajami, "'World Order': The Question of Ideology". (*Alternatives*, forthcoming).

In the first phase of WOMP, each distinct group usually represented by one or two of its members, evolved its own version of "a relevant utopia." This took the form of a comprehensive schema for a positive rearrangement of power, wealth, and prestige on a world scale, together with a transition plan for reaching the promised land. WOMP has published a series of books that explore and analyze these diverse perspectives on what form a drastic global reform seems desirable and attainable by the 1990's.[43]

Despite its American auspices, WOMP has sought, and largely achieved a transnational context for its work. Having engendered diverse conceptions of world order solutions attainable, though not assured, by the 1990's, WOMP is now embarking on a series of continuation studies. First of all, an attempt is being made to link the present to the future through a group of studies of global policy issues that are currently engaging the attention of governmental leaders and public opinion. These studies, essentially, are centered around non-proliferation and nuclear power; human rights; satisfying basic needs; and the new international economic order. The objective of these studies is to demonstrate, in the realistic terms of policy discourse, the distinctiveness of an approach developed from the WOMP set of world order values. An additional goal is to clarify these values in specific and controversial enough ways to avoid the danger of allowing world order advocacy to degenerate into a pious series of platitudes, endorsed by all because of their apolitical character and respected by no one struggling for change because of their failure to be defined in relation to ongoing struggles. To help inspire a movement for global reform depends on WOMP finding ways to mobilize a variety of groups working in widely disparate arenas for peace and justice, often in opposition to official state policy.

The second line of WOMP's current work is concentrated on building a more ambitious transnational consensus as to the direction and shape of an acceptable world order solution among those who endorse the values and accept the need for system-change as a prerequisite to their realization. The early work of WOMP restricted itself to the agreed values framework and the conceptual commitment to consider system-change, to depict a relevant utopia, and to devise a transition strategy. To proceed from this agreed methodology to an agreement on substance may prove difficult, even impossible, given the diversity of outlooks represented in WOMP, but even a partial failure will be illuminating to the extent that it sharpens the limits of consensual approaches to con-

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43. So far published: Mendlovitz, note 42; Mazrui, note 6; Falk, note 3; Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative*. New York, Free Press, 1974.

sciousness-raising on a transnational basis at this time.

WOMP as a system-changing perspective also takes a political stance that is more populist than is characteristic of system-maintainers or system-reformers. It seeks to inspire, or to take part in, a movement for a just world order, and it regards most political élites, especially those with a stake in the existing system, as likely to resist shifts in values, behavior, and structures. This transnational group of scholars, therefore, is commited to the search for peace with equity, and seeks to evolve a globalist ideology that draws on liberalism to check the abuse of state power in the relations between governments and people, on socialism to depict a humane set of economic relationships based on societal well-being, on ecological humanism to reorient the relations between human activity and nature, and on global modeling to put complex interactions of societal processes at various levels of organization into a dynamic, disciplined framework. It may be too early in the difficult work of constructing a world order ideology to give it a label distinct from these antecedents and attitudes.

The real test of the WOMP perspective will be whether or not it can take roots in the imaginings, cravings, and activities of peoples diversely situated in various parts of the world. The quasi-determinist claim that makes WOMP more predictive than prescriptive is its assurance that a global integrative process is proceeding in any event, and the zone of freedom is limited to influencing its normative content. We can ask over what time span, with what structure, for whose sake, and by reference to what values, norms and guidelines is this global integrative process likely to follow under a series of likely patterns of development. WOMP seeks to shift these historical developments away from what appears to be their technetronic and political destiny—a mixture of tyrannical structures and catastrophic occurrence on the plane of conflict and ecological decay. Instead WOMP seeks to promote an ethical and ecological flourishing in a political setting that joins solidarity of sentiment to diffusion of structure and power.

## IV. AT THE FRONTIERS

### Posing "The Political Question."

The rhetoric and inquiry associated with world order are evolving in response to new perceptions of what is needed to make the world work; that is, to evolve, as a dynamic political system, in a manner consistent with a general attitude of hope about the future. System-maintaining modes tend to be very traditionalist in their inquiry as their major goal is to provide policy guidance for exceedingly short time intervals. More than anything else these modes identify bargaining space capable of damping down inter-governmental conflicts, especially those conflicts that bear on global economic issues.

System-reforming modes, which are somewhat bolder in scale and ambitious in scope, seek major adjustments to reflect shifts in value/power configurations, adjustments that may require decades for actualization. The distinguishing substantive feature of these approaches is their assumption that the political framework of world order is durable. In more concrete terms this means that a vision of reform that is expected to unfold in conformity with a distribution of power and authority to territorially sovereign governments. Any changes in relative circumstances within or between these governments would have to evolve without benefit of a new pattern of relations among non-state actors. Most normative modeling initiatives fall into the system-reforming category of world order approaches. Sometimes these models can be used to persuade élites that they could attain their proclaimed goals (e.g. full employment, better distribution of income) by altering their priorities (e.g. investment patterns, tax structure). At other times these models can be useful to expose the failure of the political leadership to carry out the policies it purports to favor (e.g. alleviation of poverty at home and abroad).[44] Most model-building exercises seek to increase their influence by proceeding as rigorously as possible, using empirical data, computerized modes of analysis, and reinforcing their policy goals by numerical results. There is little doubt that such an approach may maximize its impact on prevailing political sensibilities and may even entrust a powerful weapon of persuasion to more progressively inclined individuals and groups in positions of control. The limits of this kind of approach to knowledge in the world order field is two-fold: first, a foreshortening of inquiry through the acceptance of a framework that seems outmoded, and second, a related failure to pose "the political question" of how to get a hearing for a position, no matter how persuasive its rationale, antithetical to the perceived interests of dominant elites.

System-transforming approaches may also suffer, as mentioned earlier, by a touchingly irrelevant belief that rational argument suffices because global reform is, essentially, a rational adjustment process. The world federalist tradition, with its abiding faith in the inevitability of world government, is the most glaring case of a program of action that would become plausible only after decades of struggle, or possibly only after the breakdown of the existing structures of world order in a terrible, traumatic manner. The avoidance of "the political question" involves, to some extent, the acceptance of the legitimacy of the *status quo*. it also involves attributing to existing political leaders the disposition to make those changes necessary to protect the public interest. Such an expectation seems woefully naive. So long as the key elite clusters of the world are diversely situated in its hierarchy, and are primarily responsive to particularized interests within their own society, and not to the society as a whole, there is no chance that voluntarist adjustment patterns can initiate and sustain a transition process on such a grand scale.

In the past, successful responses to "the political question," have presupposed an integrated vision of global reform. One modern instance is associated with the Marxist tradition, especially as developed by Lenin and Trotsky. Non-violent militancy of the sort associated with the efforts of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mohatma Gandhi is always alive to the universalizing potential of concrete, isolated acts and activities. These responses to the political question, adapted to concrete realities, inspired by charismatic leadership, and achieved by perseverance at the tactical level, only sought to accomplish change at the state level. The more global vision, espoused by Trotsky, Hitler, or Tanaka, failed at the enactment stage because the forces of resistance were too strong. It was unclear for sometime, whether or not the Chinese Revolution was attempting a system-changing role; as of now, at least in this early post-Mao phase, it seems apparent that the vision of global liberation has been superceded by the drive for the full fruits of national autonomy and a quest for status within the existing framework of international society. Dreams of world conquest and unification have haunted Chinese (and other) political leaders over the centuries. To date no strategy has succeeded beyond that of ephemeral empire-building; the cycle of growth and decay has been evident everywhere as such leading macro-historians as Toynbee and Spengler demonstrate. In effect, no one has, as yet, answered "the political question" on a global scale.

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[44] For different methodological and normative treatments of this theme see Wassily Leontief et al., *The Future of the World Economy*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1977; Jan Tinbergen, coordinator, *Reshaping the International Order*. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1976; Roger Hansen, "Major U.S. Options on North-South Relations: A Letter to President Carter," in James Sewall and staff, *The United States and World Development: Agenda 1977*. Overseas Development Council, New York Praeger, 1977; see also Herrera and Chichilnisky references in note 29.

In world order studies the political question is being posed in terms of "transition" to a new system. To date, however, the attempts have been unconvincing. There is little insight into a credible process of guided change, especially as non-violence as an orientation is stressed, rationalist approaches are scorned, and a general appreciation prevails that politically entrenched élites will remain unreceptive. How does one encourage a positive transition process (i.e. toward preferred world order values) without merely sitting back and waiting (hoping?!) for the apocalypse?

Some flickers of a credible response to such questions are emergent at the frontier. The global interdependence phenomenon is gradually having an impact on political consciousness in a way that may have real potential. Even those who endorse the system-reform track acknowledge this development as a "social fact" and attribute significance to it. In a recent article published in *Foreign Affairs*, for instance, its editor, William Bundy, noted the following: "... something beyond nationalism is slowly taking root in the world ... the signs of a developing sense of common human destiny are present. Such a sense cannot substitute for a careful focus on the present and pressing problems that can only be met through nations. But world affairs will have a very dim future if this universal sentiment fails to show a steady increase from now on."[45] Along the same lines, Ervin Laszlo's Club of Rome major study on the goals of mankind gives a central place to "a solidarity revolution," as the basis for hope about the future.[46]

The translation of this latent possibility into politically effective form is, of course, an enormous challenge. At the same time, however, ideas about leverage in the transition process are beginning to take shape. The rise of ethnic nationalism, which poses serious challenges to the authority and legitimacy of sovereign states is an example of militant politics with a global reform potential as yet untested. In addition, more systematic and longer range economic planning at the global level is beginning to occur spurred on by fears of a slide into economic warfare and by the various vulnerabilities associated with the interdependence problematique. The functional issues of control and management, whether they are in relation to nuclear capabilities, energy supplies, ocean resources, or environmental protection are also building an awareness that "central guidance" of some structured kind is the only alternative to chaos, as is the realization that functional bargains (e.g. law of the oceans; trade and monetary reform) cannot be reached or sustained unless they have an equity dimension built into them.

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[45] William P. Bundy, "On Power: Elements of Power," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 56, Oct. 1977, pp. 1-26, at 26.

[46] See Ervin Laszlo et al., *Goals for Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of Global Community*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1977, esp. pp. 415-424; on p. 415: "The achievement of world solidarity is the great imperative of our era."

Technological innovations have made us all more aware of developments elsewhere. This awareness includes, at present, concern about the spread of authoritarian politics and repressive methods. Emphasis on human rights is a multifaceted response to this concern. Among other motives and effects is its contribution to the formation of a global constituency, persons who complement their national citizenship with an identity as planetary citizen. Such an expansion of identity and loyalty patterns is critical for transition to a humane system of world order. In fact, acquisition of a planetary outlook and its embodiment in thought, feeling, and action is what system-transforming types of world order is about at this stage of international history. Multiple identity patterns are quite consistent with this imperative. Thus, one can add a planetary identity to national, ethnic, religious, local, and family identity; each can be vivid and intense. More and more nongovernmental transnational actors (Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists, and International League of Human Rights) are becoming primary actors in this human rights sphere, manifesting their primary allegiance to world order values with no territorial constraints.

These factors establish a context where at long last, a system-transforming movement and an ideology become a realistic possibility. Such a possibility has never existed earlier, almost inevitably making earlier system-transforming visions into utopography. And the occasional claim that the utopia could be realized by good faith argumentation only made such positions seem ridiculous, depriving them of even their role as enchantments for the imagination. In recent years, however, I believe this new possibility offers system-transforming approaches a rich opportunity to take steps to found a movement, formulate an ideology, and build bridges between thought and action in the realm of global reform.

## Enriching the Inquiry.

The drift of scholarly inquiry has been in accord with the wider pattern of the division of labor. As a consequence, technical mastery and specialization have become increasingly valued. In intellectual terms, thought analysis has grown sharper, with the focus being placed on ever smaller segments of reality, but at the cost of its progressive detachment from a sense of the whole. A unified feature of all types of world order thinking is to work against this tendency and to seek a holistic understanding of the world political system. Such an understanding is not yet assisted very much by modern social science. Oddly enough, it is from engineering approaches to complex decision-making and the modeling of whole systems that ways are being found to reconcile the scientific temper of the times with the widely acknowledged importance of comprehending planetary politics as a whole, or to study some national or regional segment to discern how the national or regional part fits into the whole; it would also be helpful to specify the impact which the whole has on the part.

In addition, some efforts are being made in system-transforming approaches to world order to examine the role of culture in generating a range of alternative political futures. Many students of world order look more to the humanities and to religious thought than to the social sciences for intellectual help. Macro-history, the story of the rise and fall of religious movements, cultural criticism, along with works of the literary imagination are valued resources of the world order scholar. In this regard, novels such as Ursula Leguin's, *The Dispossessed,* or Doris Lessing's, *Briefing for a Descent into Hell* and *Memoirs of a Survivor,* are world order "texts" in the quite literal sense of being used in courses. Such works appear to transmit a better overall interpretation of what is happening to erode earlier systems of order and what kinds of future alternatives there are, than is derived by studying facts, trends, and proposals of a more traditional reforming intellectual variety. In effect, world order studies needs the synthetic discipline of the novelist more than the analytic discipline of the social scientist.

To overcome the dualisms of the rational/scientific tradition, so dominant in the West, it is necessary to create a more unified sense of the inner/outer sensibilities that are sometimes differentiated in Freudian terms. This calls for the separation of the conscious intellect of the superego from the subconscious and unconscious realms of ego and id. Whatever the metaphor, the point remains that behavior cannot be understood in any purely rational reductionist interpretation that limits its observations to external planes of existence. Marxist and liberal interpretations of human endeavor, with their exclusive reference to external relationships are jointly flawed by their attempt to explain the failure of societal arrangements. Marxists base their explanation of failure on a primary reference to exploitative relations arising out of the productive process that converts any social order into classes of rulers and victims,[47] liberals mount their explanations by reference to the insufficiency of productive output, and scarcity that can be overcome, in time, by technological innovation. Marxists await revolution as the dynamic in which victims seize the means of production so as to reorganize society along non-exploitative lines. Liberals, on the other hand, seek only to institutionalize moderation in the state so that abundance can serve as the dynamic providing everyone with sufficiency needed for life, liberty, and happiness. Both outlooks are overly optimistic, secular, materialistic, and rationalistic, awaiting societal fulfillment in historical time without inner transformation or divine intervention. Both underestimate the religious or spiritual dimension of human personality.

The effort to sustain these hopeful, but automatic outlooks on societal liberation in the face of all the evidence, exerts an immense strain on the polity, draining it of authentic confidence and making hope depend on banal bravado.[48] The more authentic documents of interpretation flowing out of these traditions, especially in the North, are filled with foreboding and despair, not necessarily because the apocalypse is around the next corner, but because various forms of Stalinism have discredited socialist claims, while a variety of ecological constraints have drawn into question liberal expectations based on a modernizing world.[49]

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[47] For a stimulating account of pre-industrial exploitative relations and their link to present societal distortions see Stanley Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive.* New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books, 1974, esp. pp. 1-48.

The impact which these realizations have on world order studies is to underscore the need for a *deeper* and *wider* conception of knowledge than is customary according to rationalist canons of higher education. Spiritual traditions and insights become relevant, especially as they shape cultural potentialities that draw on neglected aspects of national and civilizational heritage and posit a sound basis for forms of cultural renewal supportive of economic and political reforms that correspond to ethical and functional imperatives of organizing life humanely on a crowded planet running out of some critical resources.[50] The evolutionary studies of biological time also suggest, in a contrasting way, adaptive possibilities—mutations—but on a time scale that exceeds the horizons of secular action-oriented sensibilities. It is in these subject-matter areas, rather than in the world order heartland of politics and economics, that provide for hope given the currently dismal course of secular trends and prospects.

Some indication of what an enriched inquiry would encompass is suggested by Table I. This table is designed to identify some boundaries and to suggest the kind of coverage needed. What is left out of such an image is the integrating sensibility that gives coherence to insights drawn from a variety of sources. Without such an integrative effort, the extended inquiry will not lead anywhere. Whether anyone has the capacity to carry out such an ambitious program of study is also to be considered. Perhaps it will require decades of "preparation" until a genius of integration can unfold a generally acceptable conception of world order studies. It took centuries to produce St. Thomas Aquinas who gave satisfying coherence to the doctrine and teaching of the Catholic Church.

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[48] E.g. Herman Kahn and others, *The Next 200 Years: A Scenario for America and the World*, New York, Morrow, 1976.

[49] E.g. Robert Heilbroner, *The Human Prospect*, New York, Norton, 1974; Donella Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*, New York, Universe, 1972; Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle*, New York, Knopf, 1971; Edward Goldsmith and others, *A Blueprint for Survival*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1972; Richard Falk, *This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival*, New York, Random House, 1972.

On the more specific theme of the value consequences of various developmental paths see Peter Berger, *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change*, New York, Basic Books, 1974; Barrington Moore, Jr., *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery*, Boston, Beacon, 1972; Victor Ferkiss, *The Future of Technological Civilization*, New York, Braziller, 1974; Falk, "Militarization and Human Rights in the Third World," *Bull. Peace Proposals*, 3:220-232 (1977).

[50] See Theodore Roszak, *Unfinished Animal: The Aquarian Frontier and the Evolution of Consciousness*, New York, Harper and Row, 1975; also Falk, "Political Prospects, Cultural Choices, Anthropological Horizons," *The Journal of the New Alchemists*, Vol. 9, pp. 138-148 (1977).

## TABLE 1
### Scope of World Order Inquiry

| LEVEL | PERSPECTIVE | UNIT OF ANALYSIS | EXPLANATORY FOCUS |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Religion<br>Culture | Civilization | Beliefs, Symbols<br>Myths, Values<br>Consciousness |
| II | History | Nation-state<br>Region<br>World | Events<br>Patterns, "laws"<br>Narrative line |
| III | Politics | Polity-State<br>State System | Power, Authority<br>Influence<br>Legitimacy<br>Leadership |
| IV | Economics | Society<br>Market<br>Class | Wealth, trade<br>Ownership<br>Productive Process<br>Capital<br>Accumulation<br>Process |
| V | Psychology | Person<br>Group<br>Species | "inner man"<br>motivation<br>behavioral patterns |
| VI | Biology | Species | Evolutionary patterns |
| VII | Anthropology | Tribe<br>Species | Alternative societal forms |
| VIII | Ecology | Ecosystem biosphere | Nature, ecological principles |
| IX | Astrophysics | Stars, planets, Solar system<br>Galaxies Universe | Physical laws and relations |

World order studies of the most traditional variety have confined their inquiry to level III, with some superficial attention to levels II and IV. A sophisticated integration of II, III, and IV would be important contribution to the orientation of world order values around the related postulates of either system-reform or system-transformation. What I have argued in this section is the need to bring level I and VII into play in an explicit way[51] so as to develop a richer sense of tradition and to grasp the potentialities for various kinds of development. To get beneath the rationalist/bureaucratic superstructure it is, of course, necessary to consider level V and VII. Longer run potentialities for change can be understood by reference to levels VI, VIII, and IX, as well as to constraining elements on what is possible. Looking into the distant past creates a context for a more searching, less time-bound inquiry into the future because it liberates, even as it conditions, the imagination.

### State, War, and Revolution.

System-maintaining and system-reforming approaches have, for the most part, taken the state for granted as the principal structural ingredient of international political life. System-transforming approaches have tended to build their image of a future world on the basis of a substantially weakened state entity. What does seem evident is the evolving character of the state and its uneven relationship, as measured in time and space, to the realization of world order values. A more sophisticated, and differentiated conception of the state as actor is required for all varieties of world order studies, especially to clarify the position of system-transformers.

This need for clarification is reinforced by the inadequacy associated with the main ideological perspectives on the modern state. Both liberal and Marxist theory underestimated the autonomous role of the state as an actor with its own set of interests distinct from those of the general population or its division by class, ethnic identity, region, or religion. Bureaucratism is a modern phenomenon that alters both role and expectations regarding the state. Furthermore, notions of the minimal or weak state, as well as those of the neutral state, seem to underestimate, in decisive respects, the social services and economic interventionary role that a modern citizenry expects from the leadership of a modern state. Circumstances of expanding population accentuate this tendency to assign more and more functions to the state, which in turn generates expanding fiscal requirements. These functions include a need to sustain economic growth and aspire to full employment without fostering inflation, a need that encourages ever-expanding regulatory undertakings. These tendencies toward bureaucratic expansion are further heightened by the complex, hazardous, and vulnerable character of modern technology in which the state simultaneously becomes entrepreneur (supplying capital), promoter, and custodian. These roles are difficult to reconcile, as is evident in the relation to the balance between promotional and protective governmental roles in the context of nuclear technology; this balance is further complicated by countervailing pressure groups of unequal capabilities, such as those of the nuclear industry versus those generated by the general public. Pressures on the state arising from the spread of terrorism also encourage an expansion of bureaucratic claims to interfere with a wide range of activities previously regarded as falling within a protected private sphere.

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[51] For examples of authors who approach global issues with these perspectives see William Irwin Thompson, note 4, *At the Edge of History*, New York, Harpers (1971); *Passage About Earth*, New York, Harpers (1974); see also Diamond, note 47, Northrop, note 6.

In the international context the role of the state has often been conceived in simplistic terms as the *bête noire* of world order. Such a view concludes that the only obstacle to a just and peaceful world is the demonic preoccupation of states with their military prowess. The state also functions to achieve autonomy for territorial units, and a strong state mechanism, especially in Latin America, Africa, and Asia whose countries have endured various degrees of hegemony for centuries, seems closely associated with the successful prosecution of the struggle against imperialism, assuring a given society the fruits of political independence after its liberation has been formally achieved. The post-colonial state therefore, has emerged in the southern hemisphere both as guardian of independence and as an agency of drastic repression in a growing variety of situations where a governing coalition in a particular country is unable or unwilling to satisfy the expectations of important components of the society. The outlook of the state is shaped by the perceived domestic interests and affinities of its governing coalition, although the international rhetoric of Third World solidarity may coexist with a set of official policies designed to perpetuate the social, economic, and cultural norms associated with colonial or even pre-colonial patterns of relations.

What is required for world order studies is a definite appreciation of these various facets of statism and an appraisal of their normative consequences. On the basis of such an appraisal, it will then be possible to formulate some valid generalizations about the state system, including its links with all forms of violence and warfare in human experience. There is no doubt that status, wealth, and power seem closely correlated with military prowess, and that this correlation pervades the virtual entirety of international relations. It is also apparent that technological innovation applied to war is quickly spreading the capacity to inflict mass destruction all around the planet, that the waste of talent and resources on military activities is on the rise, and that the strategic arms race between the superpowers continues above and beyond thresholds of stability and restraint in the direction of "first strike" postures.

Does the state, as a political institution, lead to this kind of militarized approach to security as a matter of necessity, or is it possible to envision a set of conditions that would induce a counter-dynamic of demilitarization? Is the state an entity that is conditioned by the reality of other states competing for ill-defined shares of the fixed stock of planetary patrimony, and therefore dependent on a "structure of peace" which rests on abiding, mutual exchanges of mortal, genocidal threats, all wrapped in the antiseptic doctrinal language of "deterrence"? These kinds of questions go to the essence of state power, and foreshadow the extent to which the ruling coalitions of states themselves can play a positive role in promoting world order values in consistent fashion. In other words, the fundamental issues posed by the inadequacies of the state system to cope with the intertwined trends associated with violence, crowding, scarcities, misery, and environmental decay can be stated succinctly: is global revolution necessary? if necessary, is it possible? if possible, then what form will it take?, and over what time period? what are the connections between revolutionary politics on the national and the global level?

World order approaches need to confront their relationship to revolutionary tactics, strategies, and thinking. The revolution we consider here, of course, has to do with reconstituting the basis of governance, and with creating a context for humane governance throughout the planet. Such a revolutionary goal may involve drastic changes in cultural outlook, prevailing values, and it may require prolonged struggle, sacrifice, and anguish. Certainly, the character of revolution contemplated here is not centered on the seizure of state power by means of armed struggle, although it may include this meaning in particular national circumstances (e.g. South Africa, Iran, the Philippines, and the Soviet Union, etc.). The underlying challenge is to transform the exercise of state power in such a way that it will initiate a wider process of transformation that enhances the quality of life throughout the world. It is essential, and seems appropriate, therefore, for system-transforming world order approaches to explore the various facets of this revolutionary possibility.

**Planetary Citizenship.**

Changing patterns of individual and group loyalty and identity play a critical role in periods of political transition. System-transforming approaches to world order emphasize the importance of treating the planet as a whole, which in turn implies recognizing the wholeness of the human race. Such recognition goes against the tradition of partial loyalty (to self, family, tribe, class, nation, region, race, religion, language group) that has dominated political life on the planet heretofore. Increasingly, in the present period, exemplary individuals and associated spiritual groups, while affirming their separate identity, are proclaiming a commitment to an emergent conception and reality of planetary citizenship. Feeling, thinking, and acting from a planetary perspective is what world order politics is increasingly about. The substance of such a perspective centers on the task of establishing humane patterns of governance at all levels of social interaction, from the self to the world.

Initially, at least, one can expect the energy for such a shift in political consciousness to take hold among individuals and non-governmental organizations, especially those with religious and humanitarian missions. The balance of power and wealth will remain heavily concentrated in governments, corporations, and banks that retain a vested interest in primary loyalty to the part rather than to the whole, whether the part be defined in terms of state, class, or region. A multinational corporation or a world bank may have a planetary outlook in a territorial sense, but its operating logic is based on maximizing profits for its shareholders rather than benefits for the global community. As such, its planetary identification is deficient, and should not be confused with that of a citizen or group dedicated to the well-being of the whole.

The genuine planetary citizen will tend not to look to official institutions or dominant economic actors, at least not at first, for support. If the global situation further decays, then public opinion may achieve access to power for those who are by temperament and commitment dedicated to the realization of political community on a global scale. We have no reason to expect such a development in the near future, unless a major catastrophe generates mass support for the case for drastic global reform. Short of this, populist critiques of official institutions and oppositional politics rather than reorientations of governing style will be the main political activity of planetary citizens.

# Peace and World Order Education: An Optimal Design*

Burns H. Weston**

## I. THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE

It takes little insight to discern the seriousness of the human predicament. The arms race, nuclear proliferation, exploding populations, poverty, hunger, pollution, dwindling resources, and the sordid realities of already widespread but mounting oppression and repression—each is vivid testimony that ours is an endangered planet.

The majority of us, it is true, despair at ever doing much about this predicament. Still, increasing numbers are calling into question the established orders of privilege and tradition that have fostered and sustained its conditions; and as a result new planetary arrangements are beginning to emerge. More and more, we see the inadequacies of our competitive nation-state system. More and more, we see the need for bold alternatives.

In more ways than one, then, we are reaching the end of a millenium and not just the end of a century. There is today growing agreement that humankind is embarked upon a major historical moment, that our present world order is undergoing the birthpangs of fundamental system change. As Teilhard de Chardin has put it, '[we] are now at the beginning of ... the planetisation of Mankind.'[1]

Yet, even while coming to realize that we are entering a new age, we also understand that our basic institutions are durable and that their transformation cannot be easy. It is, in fact, our double awareness that rudimentary change is at once essential and extremely difficult that underlies the pessimism about the future we see all around us.

Therein lies the fundamental challenge of our times: how to reduce immobilizing despair and instill a posture of hope in the struggle for worldwide peace, social justice, and human solidarity. Our values admonish us to meet this challenge, and our enlightened sense of self-interest compels that we try. For, like Icarus, we are flying close to the sun with wax-fixed wings.

## II. THE EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE: DIAGNOSIS AND PRESCRIPTION

Believing that our academic institutions must respond to the global challenge just outlined, we should ask what our schools, colleges, and universities have been doing to advance worldwide human survival and dignity. The same question can and should be put to our business corporations, labor unions, professional associations, churches, civic groups, and other 'nonformal' centers of learning and training as well; but both modesty and limited space recommended addressing only our 'formal' academic institutions here. To what extent and in what ways have they sought to impress upon our students that the history of our planet is as much the graveyard of species that proved themselves incapable of coping with hostile environment as it is a record of progressive achievement? To what extent and in what ways have they sought to prepare our students to meet the twin challenge of peril and change that looms so large in front of each and every one of us?

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1. Teilhard de Chardin, *The Future of Man* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 115.

### A. The Diagnosis

Cultural and professional limitations prohibit my speaking for education worldwide and at all levels. What is considered and recommended here must be understood as having been shaped primarily from a North American perspective. But if the recent general posture of United States higher education is any indication of what is happening elsewhere, there is ample cause for anxiety.

Financial distress, loss in public confidence, and a nightmare of bureaucratic constraints, each tending toward a diffusion of responsibility and drift in directions that seriously jeopardize creativity, experimentation and reform — all this bodes ill both for education itself and for the wider public interest.[2] Even more alarming is the failure of the majority of our academies to address the ultimate basis upon which education can lay claim to intellectual (and political) legitimacy at this critical historical time: *what* we *teach about our planet, how, and why.*[3] The matter of a curriculum and a matching set of scholarly values adequate to the global challenge has yet to command widespread attention and support; and the few educators who are addressing these matters seriously are doing so, at least in the United States, less with the help of the public fisc or their own institutions than with the assistance of outside (and essentially unmoneyed) nongovernmental organizations.

Perhaps the overriding reason is that our academic institutions tend to be, like most institutions, managerially and politically conservative, moving like glaciers to the demands of and for progressive change. In the United States, it generally takes 10 to 15 years for new (even promising) educational content and practices to be adopted, and decades more for them to become thoroughly diffused all across the instructional front.[4]

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[2] See, for example, Carnegie Commission, *Priorities for Action: Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973); P. Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis* (New York, London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[3] For an indication of the failure of our educational institutions to prepare students adequately for an interdependent world, see Rose L. Hayden (Director of the International Education Project of the American Council on Education), 'International Education: What's It All About?', *International Studies Notes 4*, 3, Fall 1977, p. 19. Dr. Hayden states, for example, that a "1974 survey of a national sample of 4th, 8th, and 12th grade students reports that 50% of the 12th graders tested could not choose correctly the Arab country among these four choices — Egypt, Israel, India and Mexico; and fully 40% of the 12th graders thought Golda Meir rather than Anwar el-Sadat was President of Egypt."

[4] See P. Coombs (f.n. 2), pp. 118-119.

Closely related are the arcane dogmas and conventional practices of the traditional disciplines which militate against global dealing in any fundamentally altered sense, particularly in the behavioral and social sciences. Initially there is a bias against teaching and research that is explicitly policy- or value-oriented. The overwhelming tendency is to insist upon empirical quantification and to dismiss as ideological or unprofessional almost anything that is consciously prescriptive. Similarly, because it derives from the same dominant thrust for empirical certainty, there is a strong disinclination to engage in free-associative futuristic thinking: that is, futuristic thinking which stresses possibilities (or desirabilities) rather than *probabilities.* And of course, there is that conceptual inbreeding and resultant hubris of the traditional disciplines that impedes the reorganization of knowledge in service to progressive change. Interdisciplinary—even multidisciplinary—experimentation and innovation invariably defer to the powerful jealousies and reward systems of the established order.

Additionally, there exists a profound unease about the world at large, leading many educators and educational institutions to succumb to what psychologists call the 'phenomenon of psychological denial', i.e., the conclusion that a problem is too painful to contemplate or that it does not exist for lack of an apparent solution. In this respect, academics are like most everyone else.

Finally, there has been scant educational response to the global challenge because students have not been queuing up at the international classroom doors; and in education, no less than elsewhere, the law of supply and demand speaks persuasively. Partly this is due, in the United States at least, to the disillusioning and benumbing effects of the Vietnam war. Also one can point to the sluggish, tradition-bound, and diffident manner in which our educational institutions have themselves responded to the problems of global peril and change, a posture that invites little student attention. Probably, too, one should admit to the increasingly dehumanizing complexity of the world as a whole, making it difficult for people to believe that they can or might make a difference.

But another explanation that requires frank acknowledgment is the long-standing tradition in most societies, fostered by our standard instructional modes, against significant public involvement in the foreign-making process. 'Politics', we say, 'stops at the water's edge'; or as the recent past President of the (North American) International Studies Association has observed, '[w]hen international education takes place we have traditionally called it education for international *awareness*—not education for international *participation.*'[5] Let us be candid. Students are not born with educational or occupational preferences. Nor are they unconscious dupes who make irrational choices. To the contrary: they consciously follow and conscientiously pursue the examples and rewards that are set for them; and the fact that in recent years some dedicated few have sought to influence the course of global history essentially *outside* the classroom—through the civil rights, antiwar, feminist, ecology, corporate responsibility, and antinuclear movements—should give us pause.

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[5] C. Alger, 'Local, National and Global Politics in the World: A Challenge to International Studies', *International Studies Notes*, Spring 1978, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 2.

Now obviously, if we are to rescue our planet from disaster and to ensure even a minimum of security and dignity for its inhabitants, none of these conditions can be allowed to endure. Rather than function as the central intelligence agencies of status quo politics, our educational systems must become the servants of genuinely progressive social change.

How is it to be done? In particular, how is this to be done in relation to the present and future global challenge?

## B. The Prescription

With regard to how our schools, colleges, and universities can respond to the universities to reverse the antidevelopment attitudes and behaviors that have led to and that reinforce the current malaise. Instead of shaping their teaching and research according to what will serve immediate bureaucratic interests, they should insist upon an intellectual mission which subordinates these interests to the pressing needs of society at large. Instead of perpetuating the myth of 'value-free' inquiry, as championed by the traditional disciplines, they should commit themselves to a process of applied ethics that includes, but goes beyond, the level of interpersonal dealing to the broader ordering of human affairs. Instead of responding to the problems of peril and change with paralytic anxiety, they should welcome these problems for the opportunity they present to reassess basic purposes and to dispense with thought patterns and work structures that evince little or no social utility. And, instead of sacrificing the future material and psychological well-being of their students upon the altar of customary politics and incentives, they should strongly encourage all our young people to involve themselves in some form of lifetime commitment to the improvement of the human condition at all levels and wherever most needed. Unless these fundamental steps are taken, there is the possibility that our existing educational establishments will be abandoned for becoming socially dysfunctional, that they will perish with the systems they support.

With regard to how our schools, colleges, and universities can respond to the global challenge in particular, there of course can be no completely uniform answer. In the first place, much depends on the extent to which any one of them is successful in taking the fundamental steps called for above. Without serious effort in these respects, only marginal achievements are possible. Next, relatively few educational institutions have all the resources that are needed to bring the global challenge into full-scale curricular focus (especially in the Third World where conditions of grinding poverty and hunger make attention to other global problems a luxury). Objectives must necessarily reflect sensitivity to context, and the most one can expect is that each institution will do as much as it can with what is actually and potentially at its disposal. Finally, different assessments about the past, present, and future are bound to produce different curricular conclusions (just as will, incidentally, the passage of time itself). One can only ask that curricular decisions will reflect thorough and enlightened judgment about what knowledge and skills are especially needed to make ours a more secure and just world for years to come. In sum, it is a more-or-less, not an either-or, world with which we must contend. Nevertheless, a necessary first step in positive response to any challenge is to recommend an overall set of objectives and, as well, a complementary strategy design; and to this end I venture to suggest what optimally should be done. I take as my guide the broad contours of what has come to be known as 'peace studies' and 'world order studies' (sometimes also as 'developmental studies' and 'global studies'), a process of education that has been gaining throughout the world, even if slowly, in recent years.[6]

Preliminarily, it needs emphasizing that an optimal educational response to the global challenge (what I choose to call 'world order education')[7] would be at once radical and conservative in its approach to the evolving world social process. It would be radical because it would stress holistic global perspectives, structural analyses, alternative preferred futures, and systemic social change; and it would be conservative because, in keeping with 'the compleat liberal education' tradition, it would be centrally concerned with the meaning, value, and improvement of life *as a whole*. The following profile, generally contrasting traditional and world order approaches to the study of global affairs, quickly illustrates the principal dynamics involved:[8]

| **Traditional approaches** | **World order approach** |
|---|---|
| 1. Geopolitical focus is the nation-state system | 1. Geopolitical focus is the global community |
| 2. Problems are seen as discrete issues | 2. Problems are seen as interrelated structural or systemic issues |
| 3. Analysis is presumed value-free | 3. Analysis is presumed value-oriented |
| 4. Priority time dimension is the past and present | 4. Priority time dimension is the future, with the past and present as instructive to it |
| 5. Ultimately analytical objective is description and prediction | 5. Ultimate analytical objective is prediction and prescription |
| 6. Ultimate operational objective is awareness for problem management | 6. Ultimate operational objective is participation for basic progressive change, with emphasis upon individual involvement |
| 7. Primary actors are seen as nation-states and governmental elites | 7. Primary actors are seen as ranging from individuals to transnational organizations and supranational institutions |

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[6] The course syllabi contained in this volume are useful evidence of this process. For earlier evidence see B. Weston, S. Schwenninger and D. Shamis, *Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide* (New York: Transnational Academic Program, Institute for World Order, 1978); P. Wehr and M. Washburn, *Peace and World Order Systems: Teaching and Research* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1976); B. Weston, 'Education for Human Survival', *Annals of the New Academy of Sciences, 261*, 1975, p. 115. See also R. Richardson, 'Studying World Society: Some Approaches to the Design of Courses', *The New Era* 58, 6 December 1977, p. 175.

[7] The term world order is sometimes criticized for implying a commitment to world government or a 'brave new world' of Hitlerian or Stalinist autarchy. As used here, however, and as used in world order teaching and research generally, the term is seen to represent purely an analytic/descriptive concept, referring to that aggregation of norms, procedures, and institutions which give shape and structure to international society at any given time. At least since the Age of Exploration, there always has been a world order. The transformation of the present world order of competing sovereign states to a new world order of universal peace, sociopolitical justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance is the overarching goal of world order education.

[8] The profile is drawn, with considerable revision and amendment, from N. Walbek and T. Weiss, *A World Order Framework for Teaching International Politics* (New York: Institute for World Order, 1974), pp. 3-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. Policy goals are viewed mainly in terms of the maximization of national power and wealth | 8. Policy goals are viewed mainly in terms of the maximization of human well-being and fulfillment |
| 9. Power is considered primarily with reference to military and economic force | 9. Power is considered primarily with reference to moral suasion and the force of people united in nonviolent action |
| 10. Large-scale violence is ordinarily deemed an acceptable means to implement policy | 10. Large-scale violence is deemed an unacceptable means to implement policy |
| 11. Human survival is assumed | 11. Human survival is assumed to be problematic |

In the ensuing discussion, I trace what has come to be the topical focus and methodology of world order teaching and research, what should be the topical focus and methodology of an optimal educational response to the global challenge. Several appendixes, appropriately noted hereinafter, assist in this effort.

### *1. The topical focus*

The topical focus of an optimal educational response to the global challenge should be, as in world order studies, those four great *and interlocking* malignancies which were noted at the outset of these pages, malignancies which appear to have outstripped the capacity of the present world order and which therefore signal enormous peril and change.[9] I refer to the root problems of war, sociopolitical injustice, poverty, and ecological deterioration, each a structural or systemic problem.

*(a) The war system.* The war system has made overkill an accepted universal condition, and it is spreading throughout the world at an alarming rate. Remotely controlled missiles and 'smart bombs' can now be guided precisely from great distances, at lightning speed, and at relatively low cost. Military R&D is hard at work on atomic guns, particle-beam cannons, and other space-age weapons that make existing hardware look almost like toys by comparison; and, accordingly, the potential battlefield is being radically altered or expanded. The SALT negotiations, when not stagnating in the mire of 'bargaining chip' diplomacy, produce agreements which 'limit' strategic arms at levels beyond what already is possessed. Despite well over 100 civil and international wars since 1945 (with *deaths* in excess of 25 million), world military expenditures now top $500 billion annually, with more than $21 billion going into arms sales, two-thirds to the developing countries where many of these wars have been waged. An estimated 60 million of the world's peoples are paid through military budgets. Defense ministry employees outnumber all other government employees. Military officers now hold the key power positions in over 40% of all developing nations.

*(b) The structure of sociopolitical injustice*. The values of freedom, equality,

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[9] For possible structural organization, see the curriculum flow-chart in Appendix 2.

participation, and equity have powerful autonomy and provide important yardsticks for the measurement of authority. But the old Adam of sovereignty continues to fight delaying actions against the elimination of degrading social arrangements and repressive legal orders. We see governments kill, deport, incarcerate, torture. A burgeoning world population—increasingly unemployed, young in age, and crammed into growing urban sprawls—is daily up against suffocating ideologies and spreading authoritarianism. Gripped by a deep sense of futility and powerlessness, alienated individuals and dehumanized minorities turn more and more to paramilitary terroristic operations, and, with the nuclear genie close at hand, threaten now to hijack Spaceship Earth itself. Civil and political liberties are denied on a widespread scale. Prisoners of conscience swell the world's jails. Severe forms of racism and sexism persist everywhere. A conspiracy of silence greets the view that the present world order linchpin of territorial nationalism can itself operate as a venal form of discrimination.

*(c) The poverty system.* For the majority of the world's poor, the First and Second United Nations Development Decades have made little real difference. More people suffer from hunger, malnutrition, and disease today than at the end of World War II, both numerically and as a percentage of world population. Well over half the world's population 'enjoys' a per capita income of only about $150 a year, under life conditions that are monstrously grim and worsening.[10] With population increases absorbing over half the economic gains made since 1960, with concentrations of power and wealth nesting higher and higher on the social pyramids, with domestic and foreign policies resistant to defining where business profit ends and social responsibility begins, and with mere fractions of colossal GNPs (a lion's share of which goes into military budgets) being consigned to the alleviation of human want, the gap between the "haves' and the 'have-nots' widens and widens, both nationally and internationally. The social deficit of the 2.4 billion who comprise the poorest 60% of the world's population is larger than ever before. There are more children without schools to attend, more adult illiterates, more people in ill health and lacking in adequate medical services, more unemployed, more unable to satisfy the most basic of needs.

*(d) The structure of ecological deterioration.* Since the time of the first Earth Day in 1970, our physical environment has been noisily rediscovered. Genuine efforts at population control, resource conservation, and pollution abatement have been made. But babies continue to be born at an exponential rate, and the squandering of nonrenewable resources, the wanton killing of precious life species, and the overall contamination of delicate ecosystems persist with only marginal relief. To date, there is little convincing evidence that humankind is seriously prepared, psychologically or politically, to assume the courageous planetary stewardship that is needed to avoid major disasters. Governments remain committed to elusive self-sufficiencies and to economic expansion as the *sine qua non* of social progress and well-being. Pollution is widely perceived as *the* central theme of environmental concern, except when there is talk or

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[10] For a sensitive, easy-to-read account of what it would mean for a 'typical American family' to live at the subsistence levels characteristic of the majority of the world's peoples, see R. Heilbroner, *The Great Ascent: The Struggle for Economic Development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 23-27.

movement in the direction of competitive resource grabs. Few evince wholesale regard for 'the closing circle' and the consequent need to see our world as a total living organism, with appropriate coherent policies to match.

Such, then, should be the topical focus of an optimal educational response to the global challenge: the four large problem areas that are recognized the world over, albeit with different emphases among different societies, to threaten severely the existence and quality of life on Earth, now and in the future.[11] To this summary statement, however, must be added at least five implementing/qualifying observations.

First, to reduce immobilizing despair and to encourage a 'politics of hope', the four problem areas should be organized for study purposes according to the positive values which define them as problem areas in the first place: the values of peace, sociopolitical justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance. The 'real world' tasks are hard enough that we need not add to them the psychological handicap of spelling and thinking the language of difficulties rather than the language of desirabilities. Moreover, words or labels condition not only what we are willing to look at, but also how and to what end we go about looking at what we are willing to look at. An appropriate and desirable world order curriculum would thus comprise the following optimistic, solution-oriented themes or tracks: peace studies, human rights studies, economic development studies, and ecological balance studies. Second, the four problem or study areas should be seen as principal themes for learning concentration—designed to embrace and energize a variety of speciality concerns which, though sharing common issues of fact and policy, usually are handled (if at all) in separate uncoordinated fashion, thereby frustrating intellectual collaboration and political mobilization. Falling under the label peace studies, for example, would or might be such study-units as:

- Modern warfare, the arms race and the institutionalization of violence;
- Game theory, simulation, and conflict analysis;
- Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding;
- Conflict resolution and dispute settlement;
- Arms control, arms reduction, and disarmament;
- Economic conversion of the military-industrial-academic complex;
- Alternative defense systems;
- The history and future of nonviolent struggle.

Similarly, under the rubric human rights studies would or might fall such study-units as:

- Civil and political rights;
- Economic equity and basic needs;
- Racism, sexism, and social alienation;
- Self-determination, pluralism, and cultural and minority rights;

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[11] For evidence of this perception, including its different emphases according to different cultural orientations, see the recent major studies of the World Order Models Project of the Institute for World Order (all published in New York City by The Free Press), R. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* (1975); J. Galtung, *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective* (1980); R. Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative* (1974); G. Lagos and H. Godoy, *The Revolution of Being: A Latin American View of the Future* (1977); A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* (1976); S. Mendlovitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's* (1975).

- Structures of dominance and dependency;
- Authoritarian political and legal systems;
- Human rights legal and political action.

And so forth and so on. In sum, as general curricular reference points, the four problem areas should be seen to focus responsible attention on those questions which are most demanding of investigation and solution as humankind moves into the Twenty-First Century: how to limit violence and prevent wars and other types of hostilities among nations and peoples; how to expand sociopolitical justice so that discrimination and oppression will be reduced and more people given more opportunity to say what should happen to their lives; how to raise levels of economic welfare so that degrading poverty and grinding misery will no longer be the fate of billions; and how to restore the global environment so that people can enjoy the benefits of Earth in good health and without fear of pollution and the waste of finite resources.

Third, the four study areas should be presented so as to encourage students both to coordinate and to concentrate among the central organizing themes involved. The rationale should be apparent. The global problematique of war, sociopolitical injustice, poverty, and ecological deterioration is defined by so tangled a web of interdependence and interrelatedness that it cannot be properly comprehended, let alone unraveled, without a broad and assimilating overview; and it is comprised of elements of such distinctively perilous character that its separate, though interconnected, parts recommend—indeed, necessitate—highly trained specialists. An optimal world order curriculum therefore would provide, *at a minimum*, one required entry-level and one required exit-level course or seminar of a coordinating sort, while simultaneously insisting upon concentrations in particular problem areas.[12] Along the way, of course, and not to be overlooked, a curriculum so designed would be responsive to the inevitable variety of student (and societal) interests and needs.

Fourth, although by now obvious, the four study areas should be approached, both substantively and *methodologically*, in interdisciplinary or at least multidisciplinary fashion.[13] After all, major social problems—even minor ones—do not arise, and therefore cannot be solved, along unidisciplinary lines or by unidisciplinary devices; and the point is only magnified, obviously, when it comes to the *global problématique*. Of course, a serious commitment to interdisciplinary instruction—individual intellectual 'retooling', genuine team teaching, revamped teacher training, etc.—is not an easy undertaking, requiring, as it minimally does, a radical psychological departure from that 'splendid isolation' which nurtures and comforts most academicians. Nor is it one that sits well with academic deans and exchequers who perceive, correctly, a threat to their power and wealth, especially when either is in limited supply. But, clearly, significant inroads upon the global challenge, including the preparation of future citizens and leaders for executive coping, to say nothing of action, are scarcely going to materialize without substantial readjustments of this kind. It is not enough simply to marvel at what might be done were the $500 billion of annual world military expenditures allocated otherwise.

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[12] For possible structural organization, see the curriculum flow-chart in Appendix 2.

[13] By interdisciplinary is meant the organization and presentation of distinct bodies of knowledge applied to a common theme on a *highly integrated* basis, usually through team-teaching. By multidisciplinary is meant the organization and presentation of distinct bodies of knowledge applied to a common theme on a *loosely integrated* basis, usually through separate series of lectures. In the first instance, the burden of integration is mainly on the instructor; in the second, mainly on the student.

Finally, the four study areas should be institutionally arranged so as to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge in much of the familiar subject matter of international education.[14] Area studies courses and courses in national foreign policy, diplomatic history, and comparative political systems, for example, should not only *not* be ignored, but should be made an integral part of the curriculum if one is to come seriously to grips with the global challenge and its interrelated parts. The same can be said about courses in international law and organization, world trade and investment, mass communication, language and culture, ethnology, social ethics, environmental aesthetics, and others of obvious and not-so-obvious relevance. A curriculum adequate to the global challenge means encouraging students, and faculty, to attack the problems of war, sociopolitical injustice, poverty, and ecological deterioration with time-tested knowledge and skills, as well as with new epistemological orientations; it means blending new perspectives with old tools. To quote Montaigne, '[we] are all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapeless and diverse a contexture that every piece and every moment playeth his part.'[15]

### 2. *The methodology*

As in world order studies, the methodology of an optimal educational response to the global challenge would include, but go beyond, the standard methodology (or composite of standard methodologies) of the behavioral and social sciences—applied, of course, to the global *problématique*. It would involve the following six operations at least:

- *delimitative thinking*—the identification and definition of actual and potential problems that transcend the separate capacities of the nation-states, together with the identification and definition of all the actors and relationships that are pertinent to such problems;
- *goal thinking*—the clarification and appraisal of preferred policies or values relevant to the world problems being investigated;
- *historical thinking*—the description and correlation of past trends in the management and resolution of the problems selected;
- *diagnostic thinking*—the systematic analysis of factors that have conditioned past problem-solving successes and failures;
- *futuristic thinking*—the projection of future trends and alternatives relative to the global problems; and
- *operational thinking*—the invention, recommendation, and actual or simulated application of solutions (from crisis management to system transformation) that are consistent with preferred policies or values.

Treated separately, as any one or all might be, each of these six operations may be seen as a curricular reference point around which can be organized the teaching of the distinctive problem-solving skills involved—e.g. problem specification, policy planning, data retrieval, systems analysis, probability calculation, the strategic 'table skills' (counseling, conciliation, mediation, etc.), and so forth. And treated as a whole, as in any event they should be, they should be seen as the minimum steps that are needed for a rational approach to any world order problem.

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[14] For *limited* illustration of how such subject matter might be integrated into a world order studies concentration, see the curriculum flow-chart in Appendix 2.

[15] M. Montaigne, 'Of the Inconstancy of Our Actions', in L. Harmer (ed.), *Montaigne's Essays* (New York: E. P. Dutton, J. Florio transl., 1965), Vol. 2, p. 14.

Of course, treated either separately or as a whole, these methodological tasks imply the involvement of most, if not all, the major disciplines—the arts, the natural sciences, and the humanities, as well as the more expected behavioral and social sciences. Indeed, because the global challenge signals a need for drastic change, there is, as mentioned below, a profoundly important role to be played by those disciplines whose central preoccupation is with artistic, mythical, poetic, psycho-spiritual, and similar expression. Education for a peaceful and just world adequate to the global challenge cannot be the exclusive province of any one discipline or set of skills—cognitive, affective, or intuitive.

Still, the ways and means of the behavioral and social sciences are essential; and particularly important are five conceptual approaches which even the behaviorists and social scientists have yet to develop fully and practice widely, especially in relation to the global *problématique*. These conceptual approaches, each central to world order education, are conveniently symbolized by the terms 'global holism', 'structuralism', 'values clarification/operationalization', 'futurism', and 'social/systemic change'. Except for the first, which is more intuitive than analytic, each involves at least two important dimensions, many of which merit separate treatment as distinctive courses.[16]

*(a) Global holism.* By 'global holism' is meant a new geopolitical ethos of planetary citizenship—i.e. a new, more or less spontaneous manner of *thinking* and *feeling* and *acting* that identifies first with the interests of the planet as a whole and, secondarily, with the interests of its constituent parts. True, in these times of seemingly irreconcilable conflicts of interest, to call for a behavior of common human destiny, necessarily involving radically altered patterns of individual identity and group loyalty, is to risk a certain derision. Established elites correctly perceive a threat to their authority and legitimacy. Counter-elites fear a 'cover up' of historic fundamental differences. And others tend to see but an added complication to the handling of already complicated pressing problems. Nevertheless, as lately recognized by a growing number of people throughout the world, especially individuals and nongovernmental organizations with spiritual roots and humanitarian concerns, the time is long overdue when the entire planet must be viewed—in thought, in feeling, and in action—as *the* beginning and end of human identity and loyalty. As urged by a major Club of Rome study, '[*t*]he achievement of world solidarity is the great imperative of our era.'[17] What this 'great imperative' demands—indeed, what a geopolitical ethos

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[16] For an indication of how some of these methodological dimensions might be given separate distinctive treatment, see the curriculum flow-chart in Appendix 2.

[17] E. Laszlo *et al.*, *Goals for Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of Global Community* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977), p. 415. One may ask why, in the search for 'a solidarity revolution' as a basis for planetary community, the authors of this report did not substitute the word 'humankind' for the word 'mankind'.

of planetary citizenship demands—is a culturally open-ended search and struggle for what has been called 'a new myth ... of love, integrity and holism',[18] or 'a new faith of collective transcendence'[19] that can help us see our essential connectedness with, and basic responsibility for, all our brothers and sisters everywhere in the world. And this mandate, in turn, compels us to seek a deeper and wider understanding of human nature and culture than we now have; hence, a deeper and wider conception of knowledge and meaning than currently prevails among the majority of our formal educational institutions, especially in the rational/scientific West where the affective (emotional) and intuitive (psychospiritual) dimensions of human endeavor have been treated historically with less centrality than has been the case in Eastern and animist societies. Emotionally frustrating, intellectually taxing, time-consuming, and costly all this may be. But if the global future, our future, is not to be dim and bleak in the extreme, we must encourage an ethos of planetary citizenship to develop and flourish, leaving no relevant human experience or insight unexplored. World order education makes a conscious and deliberate attempt to this end.[20] So also should an optimal educational response to the global challenge.

*(b) Structuralism.* Structuralism means, first, an approach to global problem-solving that proceeds from a comprehensive social—systemic perspective; and, second, a deliberate concern for how all levels of social interaction, from local to global, mutually impinge upon one another. Each aspect necessitates seeing the world as a total social process. Each requires a break from the syntactical consistency of the word 'international' and the competitive and increasingly outmoded participatory model of the world system it implies.

(i) Systems analysis. Consistent with these outlooks, structuralism implies a systemic orientation relative to the four major problem areas and to the discrete issues subsumed under each. The problem of poverty, for example, is not to be understood by reference only to those conditions we associate with the poor: unemployment, low income, slum housing, high birth rates, etc . Additionally, to avoid mistaking poverty for merely a cluster of private limitations or troubles, one must look to the circumstances of the rich and, in particular, to the causes underlying the gap between the poor and the rich. Similarly, the more discrete issue of how to meet basic needs cannot be understood, let alone solved, without appreciating its fundamental connection to, say, the problems of military spending, authoritarianism, or energy supply and demand. Otherwise, we risk losing sight of the fact that it is, on final analysis, a social-structural issue. In sum, the overall and more subtle aspects of the root problems of war, socio-political injustice, poverty, and ecological deterioration harbor complex interdependencies and consequently require integrated analyses. To the maximum extent feasible, they must be treated in interlocking systemic fashion, relatively uncompartmentalized, and according to the technique commonly known as 'the systems approach' (a process of understanding how the diverse elements of a larger whole interrelate and how they can be brought to bear upon the resolution of complicated issues). Traditional academic boundaries to the contrary notwithstanding, each individual analysis should contribute to the total analysis as much as possible.

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[18] B. Reardon, 'Proposal for a Paper on the Need for a New Myth to Give Meaning to Education for a Global Transformation', presented to the meeting of the Club of Rome Project on Global Learning in Fez, Morocco, May 13-15, 1978, p. 4.

[19] Remarks of Ricardo Diez Hochleitner at the meeting of the Club of Rome Project on Global Learning in Fez, Morocco, May 13-15, 1978.

[20] For a sensitive elaboration, see R. Falk, 'Contending Approaches to World Order', *Journal of International Affairs 31*.2, Fall/Winter 1977, esp. pp. 189-195, 197-198. See also, R. Falk, 'Political Prospects, Cultural Choices, Anthropological Horizons', *The Journal of the New Alchemists 4*, 1977, p. 138.

(ii) The 'local–global connection.' Closely related is the other meaning of structuralism–namely, that it is generally impossible to separate issues of foreign policy from issues of domestic policy, and vice versa. For example, it is a peculiar form of societal insanity that we continue to label the nuclear arms race as a problem of *foreign* affairs. It is beyond peradventure that many, if not most, of the conditions of violence and anomie we find in the global arena fundamentally influence the conditions of violence and anomie we find in our domestic arenas. And, obviously, the reverse is true also. If there is any one fundamental truth of our time, it is that our global and domestics orders reciprocally impact one upon the other in a process of constant interaction and change–the former affecting 'inward' or 'downward' the latter, and the latter affecting 'outward' or 'upward' the former (just as happens among the different social orders that serve to make up our national societies–individual, family, township, city, county, province, nation). No genuine or comprehensive understanding of the planetary problems that currently besiege us can be achieved without perceiving this local-global connection. Still less can they be acted upon effectively. Until people are enabled to see both the individual-life impact of the *total* world around them and the particular entry points and linkages through which they can meaningfully exercise their planetary birthright, very few victories are likely to be won. The mythology surrounding the nation-state must no longer be allowed to obscure the many opportunities, existing and imaginable, for significant global participation.[21]

*(c) Values clarification/operationalization.* The concept 'values clarification/operationalization' involves, first and foremost, a conscious commitment to the definition and pursuit of the humanistic values of peace, sociopolitical justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance in respect of all levels of social interaction, from the most personal to the most global. Second, it refers to the translation and rationalization of these broadly stated values within specific problem-solving contexts.

(i) Values clarification. The very notion that one should adopt an ethical or moral stance within the classroom, particularly one that is more societally than individually oriented, is not one that sits well or easily in all educational quarters. Nevertheless, apart from the truism that no social situation involving choices, including the classroom situation, is or can be value-free, the notion is neither novel nor unwarranted. Faculties of law and medicine, for example, have long been at least theoretically committed to the values of justice and healing—just as, for that matter, the entire educational establishment has long been committed to the values of knowledge and truth. And as for the warrantability of value-laden instruction, provided the values are applied so as to guard against authoritarian indoctrination and otherwise parallel international human rights principles, there would seem to be no reason for objection, especially given that all education is highly political even if not always consciously ideological. In any event, a superintended commitment to the humanistic values mentioned is surely *a priori* acceptable if only because these values are the obverse of the categorically unacceptable conditions of war, sociopolitical injustice, poverty, and ecological deterioration. Of course, in our complex multicultured world, these values, or their verbal expressions, are not easy to define. Like the perspiring bodies of all living things, they are in constant motion and change, carrying with them from context to context a host of different, sometimes contradictory, associations. Nor is their conscientious pursuit a simple matter. The clarification and reorientation of one's personal values and the values of one's society in relation to a progressive vision of the future, particularly insofar as this involves a measurable withdrawal from the values of patriotic nationalism, means rearranging thought patterns and work habits that run very deep. But these tasks are absolutely necessary if genuine world reform is to be achieved. Unless students and faculties are asked to be critical of the various value-laden theories that are introduced or assumed in the classroom often without question, and unless they are challenged to ask what is humanly desirable as well as what is politically and technologically possible, we can expect little real progress toward a humane reordering of our planet.

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[21] A recent pioneering contribution along these lines is the ongoing project of Professor Chadwick Alger of the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. Popularly known as 'Columbus in the World/The World in Columbus', the project is centrally concerned with public knowledge about, and local participation in, the foreign policy decisions of United States society.

(ii) Values operationalization. The intimately associated task of translating and rationalizing the humanistic values of peace, sociopolitical justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance in relation to specific problem-solving contexts is likewise difficult but necessary. In the first place, no matter how well defined in the abstract, these or equivalent propositions are prone to erosive meanings, even subversion, when pressed against the push and pull of particular crises and issues. Also, the arena of 'real world' problem-solving makes for inevitable trade-offs both among the values, generally, and within a single value frame, specifically. For example, many people believe that the immediate restoration of the natural environment is secondary to the maximization of Third World development, whereas others believe the opposite. Similarly, some maintain that arms shipments to certain Middle East countries will enhance the prospects for peace in that region, whereas others contend the reverse. Thus, faced with these erosions and trade-offs, one is obliged to ask (in the academy at least) how, in the concrete case, the above four humanistic values might be operationalized, both singly and in combination. One answer lies, surely, in a continuing, collaborative, and especially transnational (or cross-cultural) effort on the part of our educational and other institutions to shape and refine a broad consensus relative to the meaning and rank-ordering of these values, a consensus that could help mitigate drastic erosions and trade-offs. Another answer, perhaps less obvious, but one for which our educational institutions are especially well suited, would be a truly generous commitment to the development, promulgation, and adoption of detailed value indicators that can tell us, more or less accurately, the extent to which different decisions will advance or retard the individual or composite ideal.[22] Manifestly, these are not simple tasks. But they must be undertaken. They are critical to perceiving the discrete problems that should command widespread scholarly (and political) attention. They are critical to measuring the distance we must travel to reach preferred outcomes. They are critical to providing the informed policy options that can move us from the perilous 'here' to the most peaceful and just 'there.'

*(d) Futurism.* Much of the preceding discussion foreshadows what is meant by 'futurism': first, strategic planning *for* the future on the basis of projected trends; and, second, reconstructive planning *of* the future in accordance with recommended priorities and goals. Accordingly, we need touch only the high points here. However, when considering the importance of either of these dimensions of futuristic study relative to other items on the academic agenda, it is useful to recall the voice of John Dewey: '[T]he problem is not whether the schools should participate in the production of a future society, but whether they should do it blindly or with the maximum possible of courageous intelligence and responsibility.'[23]

(i) Probable world modeling. A key reason why it is now possible to speak credibly about major threats to human survival and dignity is that, over time, few people have bothered to anticipate and plan for the future 10 to 30—even 5 to 10—years in advance. Indeed, despite, or perhaps because of, the all too evident nuclear warning signals, most people today completely disregard the question of whether, in fact, there is a future. Discussions concerning the future usually center on the short-range policies of our national governments. On the other hand, more and more people, including more and more academic scholars, have in recent times begun to take our global future seriously, as perhaps most conspicuously evidenced by the Report to the Club of Rome on *Limits to Growth.*[24] Increasingly, systematic projections based on empirical trends are being made to decipher the probable future. Increasingly, too, the results of this activity are finding their way into the classroom. And this is as it should be. The prospect of a viable, to say nothing of desirable, future depends not on tea leaves and crystal balls, but on our willingness and ability to think and plan responsibly ahead .

(ii) Preferred world modeling. It is not sufficient, however, to approach the future only in terms of empirically-based linear scenarios; for then, as observed earlier, we risk tying the future too much to the past. Put another way, past or present quantifiable reality is necessarily hamstrung in its capacity to provide the models we need for a future world order based on the values of peace, sociopolitical justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance. What is needed, therefore, in addition to probable world modeling, is *preferred* world modeling—that is, the construction not merely or mainly of utopian orders that suit our simple fancies, but of 'relevant utopias' or 'world order systems that make clear not only alternative worlds but the necessary transition steps to these worlds'.[25] Regrettably, in its insistence upon 'realism' to the near exclusion of imaginative visioning, the present academic environment is generally unreceptive to this kind of thinking. However, an optimal educational response to the global challenge, one which rejects as naively utopian the 'realism' that finds long-term security in ever more terrifying arms and armaments, would greet this fact not as an excuse for inaction, but as an obstacle to be surmounted. As in world order studies, it would encourage students to study and contrast the great literary utopias, philosophical and science fiction, that have had significant impact on social thought. It would encourage them to create and compare their own preferred images of the future, consistent with the above values. It would encourage them to assess these preferred images in relation to current trends and probability models. And, finally, it would encourage them to recommend, in as intellectually rigorous a way as possible, but without insisting upon immediate political feasibility, the particular transition strategies—normative, procedural, and institutional—that would be needed to make their images a reality. In sum, as in world order studies, an optimal educational response to the global challenge would seek to liberate the imagination in relation to the future.

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[22] For a preliminary overall typology, see Appendix 3. For an indication of the kinds of measures that can be developed in relation to particular values, e.g., the equitable meeting of basic-human needs, see the explanation of the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) developed at the Overseas Development Council, in J. Sewell *et al., The United States and World Development: Agenda 1977* (New York & London: Praeger Publishers, 1977), pp. 147-154.

[23] John Dewey, 'Educational and Social Change', in: K. Hanson and C. Brembeck (eds.), *Education and the Development of Nations* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), pp. 100-104.

[24] D. Meadows and D. Meadows, *The Limits to Growth: Report to the Club of Rome* (New York: New American Library, 1972). For other Club of Rome reports, see M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point: Second Report to the Club of Rome* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1974); J. Tinbergen *et al., Reshaping the International Order: A Report to the Club of Rome* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1976); E. Laszlo *et al.* (f.n. 17).

*(e) Social/systemic change.* Given its stress upon global holism, structural analysis, the operationalization of humane values, and preferred world modeling, it should come as no surprise that an optimal world order curriculum also would display intense concern, finally, for social/systemic change. As in world order studies, this concern would be evident, again, in two senses: first, in terms of the history of social-change movements, in particular the factors that have conditioned their success or failure; and, second, in terms of the contemporary knowledge, skills, and alliances, as well as other elements, that are needed to move our world from its present malignant state to one in which at least basic—preferably majestic—security and dignity for all humankind might be assured.

(i) Social-change history. The history books are filled with important social-change movements: general social movements, such as the labor movement; more or less specialized social movements, such as the antislavery and peace movements; and expressive social movements, such as the many religious movements that date back almost to the beginning of recorded time.[26] Indeed, one might even say that history is, to a large degree, the cause and effect of major, and sometimes not so major, social movements. Yet, very little of this storehouse of experience has been tapped, and seldom with reference to the classroom, for the purpose of understanding how we might bring about a progressive vision of the future, particularly a global one. In our preoccupation with the present, we show more concern for the effects of social movements than we do for their causes, more concern for the problems they present than we do for their origins and development. An optimal educational response to the global challenge, however, would seek to benefit from the triumphs and tragedies of past social-change movements, no matter how imperfectly revealed so far. It would ask about who led them, and where and how their leaders found support. It would ask about their goals, their bases of power, their tactics. And, of course, it would ask about their sense of history and history's sense of them. In short, it would ask all that needs asking to evolve a credible theory of global social change so as to empower the abolition of war and the drastic reduction of sociopolitical injustice, poverty, and ecological deterioration. It would approach history more as a bridge to the future than as a trail to the past always mindful, however, that it is best to be simultaneously unafraid of the darkness and suspicious of the light.

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[25] S. Mendlovitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), Introduction, p. xii.

[26] This tripartite characterization is drawn from H. Blumer, 'Collective Behavior', in: A. Lee (ed.), *A New Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946), pp. 199-219.

(ii) System change training. As for the contemporary instruments needed to reverse humankind's present collision course, it must be said, perhaps above all, that an educational response adequate to the global challenge would have to give major, if not always primary, emphasis to *fundamental* social change, i.e., system transformation. To have real credibility at this critical historical time (to say nothing of effectiveness) our schools, colleges, and universities must pay special heed to system-transforming knowledge and skills, as well as to the more usual managerial and reformist varieties of political socialization and social action training. In fact, it can be fairly said that their general failure to do so in any truly significant way in the past is not a small explanation for what has led to our current perilous plight. For one sad example, despite the vast increase and proliferation of sophisticated weaponry and the emergence of 'permanent war economies' since World War II, *disarmament* education, which necessarily requires attention to alternative security systems and therefore system-transformative thinking and behavior, is scarcely to be found in the academic curriculum. Instead, if the arms race and the more general war system are dealt with at all, the stress is upon the essentially 'crisis management' and sometimes reformist realms of *arms control* and *conflict resolution*. Not that dealing with system management and reform questions is unimportant or unnecessary. Clearly not. The point is that we delude ourselves if we think that system maintenance, or tinkering, is going to overcome the manifold and interlocking problems which ever more defile the human birthright. Accordingly, as in world order studies, an optimal educational response to the global challenge would strive to offset this possibility (and everything associated with it) by giving *at least* equal prominence to training for the progressive transformation of the global system and its many institutional and thematic subsystems (subject, of course, to the highest or honestmost principles of academic freedom). In doing so, it naturally would place great stress on systems analysis and alternative/transitional world modeling. However, in keeping with a central concern for planetary identity and loyalty, the 'local-global connection', and the humanistic reordering of individual and societal values, it also would seek to open up, both within and outside the classroom, the theoretical and practical opportunities for advancing human solidarity, meaningful social participation, and effective political action. The very theme of social/systemic change, while not underestimating the nature of our Kafkaesque world, presupposes that individual human beings can, do, and should make a difference.

## IV. Postscript

There is no incompatibility between calling for a globally relevant, value-centered, and purposeful educational process, as I have done here, and the time-honored view that education—a means to many ends—is an end in itself. This is not the issue here. What is at issue is whether, in these unprecedented times, the majority of our educational institutions, or at least those in the United States, are *thinking, feeling,* and *acting* in a manner that is consonant with ensuring human survival and, so, the very survival of formal education itself—as an end or a means, as we know it or would have it. My judgment is that, except for a few hopeful signs in the last few years, they are not. Unlike the Space Age programmers who redirect all walks of life to place a few men on the moon, the majority of us continue to adhere, more or less, to a concept of 'horizontal priorities' whereby relatively equal weight is given to all of education's aims. Unlike the doctor who labels as 'suicidal' a patient who consistently ignores threats to her or his personal survival, the majority of us continue to label as 'traditional'—not 'self-destructive'—a curriculum that fails to address squarely the threats that endanger our planetary future.

Of course, we cannot expect the academy to reverse these patterns all by itself. Unparalleled energy, wealth, and creative courage from all quarters are required, including new educational coalitions, endowments, and legislation. Nor can or should we expect that it is only for our formal educational institutions to marshall the needed response. Indeed, because the history of formal education affords few precedents for the kind of epistemological and structural revolution called for here, it may well be that we should look first and primarily to our nonformal education processes to get the engine moving. But innovate, revise, and, yes, transform to the maximum possible we must. If this be considered extravagant or utopian, then it is also extravagant or utopian to think that we can move securely and with dignity into the Twenty-first Century without a major effort of this sort. Genuinely to commit ourselves to an educational process that ensures at least heightened sensitivity to the preciousness of life and to the possibilities for upgrading human existence is a fundamental priority of our time. Even if we cannot succeed overnight, whether in full-scale or partial curricular terms, the prospect that we can identify this imperative as one of prime consideration and then attempt to do something about it may do some good.[27] As Toynbee observes:

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[27] As to how one might proceed to organize a curriculum responsive to the global challenge, see P. Wehr and M. Washburn, *Peace and World Order Systems: Teaching and Research* (Beverly Hills, Ca: Sage Publications, 1976), pp. 64-66, reproduced in Appendix 1.

> The dead civilizations are not dead by fate; and therefore a living civilization is not doomed inexorably in advance *migrare ad plures*: to join the majority of its kind that have suffered shipwreck. Though sixteen civilizations may have perished already to our knowledge, and nine others may be now at the point of death, and though Nature, in her wanton prodigality, may be wont to slay the representatives of a species, not by tens or scores, but by thousands, before she rouses herself to create a new specific mutation, we need fear no evil from the encompassing shadow of Death; for we are not compelled to submit out fate to the blind arbitrament of statistics. The divine spark of creative power is instinct in ourselves; and if we have the grace to kindle it into flame, then the stars in their courses cannot defeat our efforts to attain the goal of human endeavors.[28]

## APPENDICES

### 1. Strategizing for program development*

It is too often assumed that special financial support is the key to peace (and world order) studies program development. Even modest grants are useful, but program initiators should be aware that (1) there is little money available for peace (and world order) education, and accessible funds are generally limited to campus, community, and state sources; and (2) by far the most central and difficult development task is not fund-raising, but the building of a community of faculty and students willing to reorient and re-educate themselves for a coherent program framework and sufficient new and substantially revised courses. Let us briefly suggest some major steps for organizing and mobilizing resources.

(1) *Initiating momentum—the organizing group.* There must be a core group to plan, give continuity to, and generate wider interest in the program, develop a rationale, and divide the labor. A focal event—a lecture by a known speaker, a meeting of interested people with an outside peace (and world order) studies consultant—is one tactic for enlisting participation and support. Issuing naturally from such an event might be a continuing peace (and world order) studies seminar or committee.

(2) *Continuing faculty-student seminar.* A critical element in development is a faculty-student seminar. The Manhattan College major grew out of a series of monthly luncheons devoted to substantive presentations. At Colgate University, the core peace studies faculty first participated as students in a small student-organized seminar on approaches to peace. They then set up a summer faculty-student course-planning workshop....

(3) *Surveying existing courses.* The planning group should examine catalog offerings for courses having a direct bearing on peace (and world order) issues, and check syllabi for their contents. From the student's viewpoint, in what ways do various offerings fit together? What are the strengths and weaknesses of each course and the set taken together?

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[28] Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1939), Vol. 4, p. 39.

*Reproduced with permission from P. Wehr and M. Washburn, *Peace and World Order Systems: Teaching and Research* (Beverly Hills, CA : Sage Publications, 1976), pp. 64-66. (Footnotes omitted.)

(4) *Identifying faculty, student, and community resources.* Faculty who teach existing relevant courses will suggest others. There needs to be an energetic committed core of persons able to devote substantial time to new courses, program administration, fund-raising if necessary, and the faculty politics of curriculum innovation. Students are an excellent source of energy and innovative ideas, and potential student interest should be assessed. It is unwise, however, to hang the program entirely or even largely on student opinion, as this tends to be shaped and led by faculty interest as much as it asserts itself independently. Deans and department heads should likewise be drawn into the planning and learning.

(5) *Learning to introduce innovation.* What are the formal and informal strategies for new course, major, or concentration approval? Whose support and decisions are needed? Sympathetic administrators are good allies, but planners must anticipate tough questions about budgets, teaching loads, and other departmental obligations. A knowledge of similar precedents, such as other transdisciplinary majors on campus, is essential.

(6) *Proposal.* Cooperative planning which involves all affected groups and which defines needs and goals should produce a proposal. At large universities, a formal proposal to a dean, faculty senate, or curriculum committee is normally called for. Smaller institutions often have less formal procedures. The strongest forces in support of a proposal are a vocal and committed group of faculty, a well-conceived program design, and articulate student interest.

A sound proposal would state minimal needs for a program. While one can be started by two or three faculty, our estimation sees the following components as the minimum necessary for a viable major:

(1) Six faculty trained in at least three of these disciplines: political science, philosophy, economics, sociology, history, and psychology.

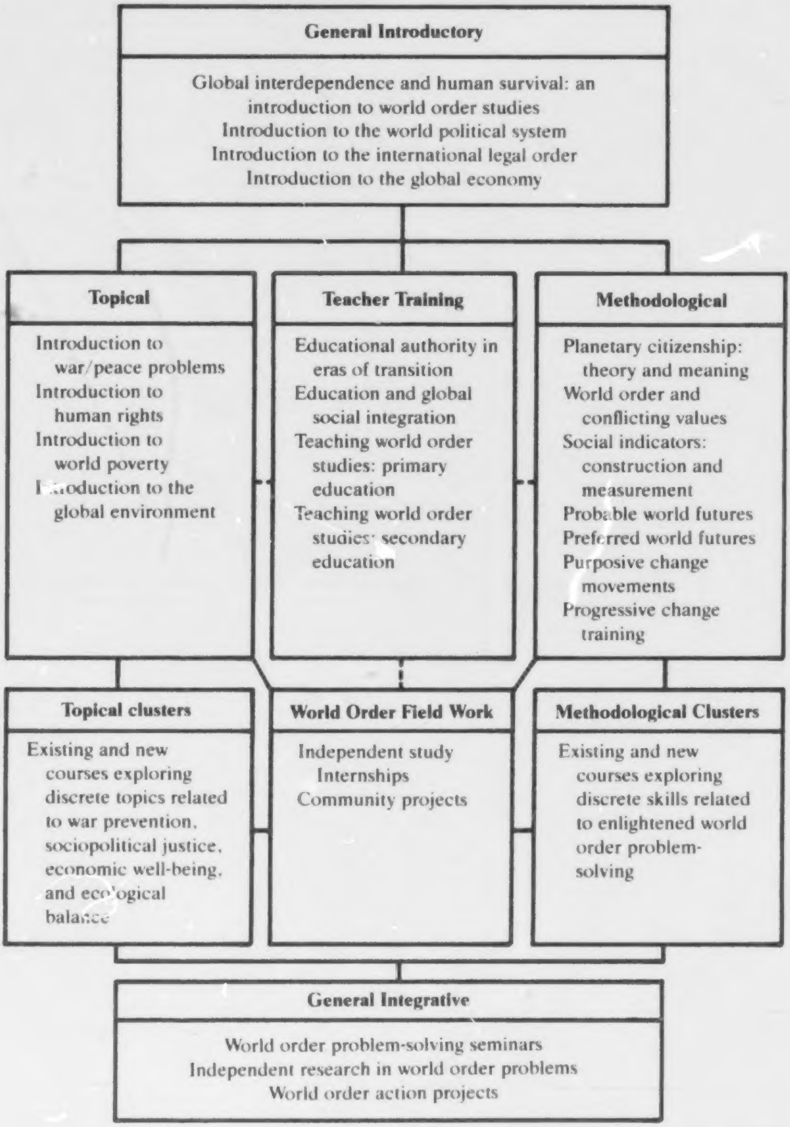
(2) A peace and (world order) collection in the library, or a separate program library and resource center.

(3) A physical locale for meetings, career counselling, and socializing.

(4) A half-time administrator and access to typing and duplicating services.

Serious practical, professional, and psychological difficulties for faculty are inherent in undertaking the kind of program we have suggested. It is a task which, in many ways, runs counter to (the) sensibilities and training (of) scholars and teachers. It requires that we compromise as well as criticize, organize as well as plan, learn as well as teach, and act as well as speculate. A solid peace and world order studies and research movement requires of us humility, intellectual courage, and fierce commitment to experiment. We must reject the idea that we teach only what is known. We must also teach what we ourselves are learning and what is not known. Moreover, peace (and world order) educators must make explicit what they believe, in addition to what they know. Such an agenda implies that what is known must be regularly questioned with regard to its significance, its relevance to the development of (a peaceful and just world), and the uses to which that knowledge is put both within and beyond the academy.

## 2. Potential World Order Curriculum



**General Introductory**

Global interdependence and human survival: an introduction to world order studies
Introduction to the world political system
Introduction to the international legal order
Introduction to the global economy

**Topical**

- Introduction to war/peace problems
- Introduction to human rights
- Introduction to world poverty
- Introduction to the global environment

**Teacher Training**

- Educational authority in eras of transition
- Education and global social integration
- Teaching world order studies: primary education
- Teaching world order studies: secondary education

**Methodological**

- Planetary citizenship: theory and meaning
- World order and conflicting values
- Social indicators: construction and measurement
- Probable world futures
- Preferred world futures
- Purposive change movements
- Progressive change training

**Topical clusters**

Existing and new courses exploring discrete topics related to war prevention, sociopolitical justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance

**World Order Field Work**

- Independent study
- Internships
- Community projects

**Methodological Clusters**

Existing and new courses exploring discrete skills related to enlightened world order problem-solving

**General Integrative**

World order problem-solving seminars
Independent research in world order problems
World order action projects

### 3. Matrix for the study of world order*

| Actor | Year | Impact on key processes and their elements (can be ranked on a 10-point scale) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Minimization of violence | | | Maximization of well-being | | | Maximization of justice | | | Maximization of ecological balance | | |
| | | Arms policy | Peace keeping | Conflict resolution | Per capita income | Life expectancy | Education & health guarantees | Participation | Race equality | Human rights | Population equilibrium | Pollution control | Resource balance and growth |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| World (e.g. the U.N.) | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| International | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Regional | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Transnational | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| National | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Intranational | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Individual | 1970<br>1980<br>1990<br>2000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Achievement scale for world order values with minimal-acceptable-maximal range (-5 to 0 to +5)

*Reproduced with permission from S. Mendlovitz, L. Metcalf, and M. Washburn, 'The Crisis of Global Transformation, Interdependence, and the Schools', in: F. Brown (ed.), *Education For Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), pp. 206-207.

**Peace:** total war – to – minimization of violence – to – prevention of violence.
**Economic Well-Being:** starvation – to – creation of tolerable conditions – to – maintenance of universal prosperity
**Social Justice:** oppression – to – creation of tolerable conditions – to – maintenance of human dignity
**Ecological Balance:** collapse of ecosystems – to – restoration of balance – to – preservation of balance
**Participation:** totalitarianism – to – self-identity – to – active involvement in achievement of preferences

# 2

# Course Syllabi

A. General Overview
B. Alternative World Order
C. International Organization and Law
D. Peace
E. Economic Development and Well Being
F. Human Rights
G. Ecological Balance
H. Culture, Community, Values and Change
I. World Order Education

# Introduction

The purpose of this section is to facilitate the development, updating, and redesign of peace and world order courses. Presented here are syllabi in each of the following categories of courses: General Overview; Alternative World Order; International Law and Organization; Peace/War; Economic Development and Well-Being; Social Justice/Human Rights; Ecological Balance; Culture, Community, Values, and Change; and World Order Education: Teacher Training.

Our objective in selecting courses has been to make this resource useful to the widest audience of college and university educators possible. We therefore have included courses from a variety of institutions (large and small, private and public), from many disciplines (including political science, international relations, history, anthropology, economics, and general education) and with a number of different course formats (lecture, discussion, seminar). Both introductory and upper level undergraduate courses have been included as have, in selected cases, graduate seminars.

Further, we have selected courses for their conceptual clarity, comprehensiveness, and the utility of their reading lists. Most are representative of other teaching being done in the field. A few are illustrations of innovative experiments with new issues, pedagogical approaches, or conceptual frameworks. In this respect, we wish to draw your attention to the last category of courses which reflect an important new effort to train secondary-level teachers in world order thinking. Obviously, because of limited space, many exciting course syllabi have had to be excluded.

In publishing these syllabi, we have attempted to be faithful to the texts presented us. Only relatively minor changes have been made.

# A

# General Overview

Approaches to World Order
    Saul Mendlovitz

An Introduction to World Order
    Richard Falk

Introduction to International Relations
    Louis Rene Beres

Problems in Peace, Justice and Processes of Change
    Karl W. Deutsch

Problems in World Community
    Peace and World Order Program, Colgate University

Politics of Peaceful World Change
    Robert Charlick

Global Problems and Human Survival
    Ronald Glossop, Rasool Hashimi, Ernst Schusky

The Politics of International Interdependence
    Carolyn Stephenson

American Foreign Policy
    Dennis Gordon

# Approaches to World Order

**Saul Mendlovitz**
**Ira D. Wallach Professor of World Order Studies (1978-1981)** Spring 1981
Department of Political Science / Columbia University / New York, NY 10027

This course will attempt to provide an understanding of how the present system of international relations works, an appreciation of the major problems we will face over the next decade, and an opportunity to explore how we can intervene to bring about a more just world order.

The course is divided into three parts. The first part explores the evolution of the present international system and different theories and approaches to studying it. Further, it will develop the world order perspective by examining the writings of authors who are either witnesses to oppression or who speak on behalf of the oppressed. The second part will apply the world order perspective to each of the following world order problem areas: war, denial of human rights, poverty and underdevelopment, ecological balance, and the question of participation and governance. In the final section of the course we will explore the nature of change in the international system, its probable future consequences, and how human intervention can shape processes for a most just world order.

All readings for the course appear in Richard Falk, Sam Kim and Saul Mendlovitz, eds., *The Strategy of a Just World Order*, preliminary ed., 1980. (A revised edition of this course reader will be published in 1981 by Westview Press).

## COURSE CONTENT

### PART I. A WORLD ORDER PERSPECTIVE

**Week 1. Voices for the Oppressed**
Introductory Remarks
Shariati, Ali, "Reflections of a Concerned Muslim: On the Plight of Oppressed Peoples".
Biko, Steve, "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity"
Charter 77: Czech Plea for Human Rights.
Manifesto of the Alliance for Human Rights in China.
Falk, Richard A. "Invisible Oppression."
Lifton, Robert J., "Radiation and Nuclear-Age Victims", An interview with Dr. Robert Jay Lifton by Richard Perl at the Institute for World Order.
"The Shimoda Decision."

**Week 2. The Evolution of the State System**
Carneiro, Robert L., "A Theory of the Origin of the State."
Diamond, Stanley, "Civilization and Progress."
Bull, Hedley, "The State's Positive Role in World Affairs."
Gilpin, Robert, "Three Models of the Future."

**Week 3. Theories and Approaches**
Galtung, Johan, "The Future of the International System."
Falk, Richard A., "Contending Approaches to World Order."
Preiswerk, Roy, "Could We Study International Relations As If People Mattered?"

Mendlovitz, Saul H., "The Program of the Institute for World Order."
Wallerstein, Immanuel, "The Rise and Future of the World Capitalist System."

## PART II. ANALYSIS OF WORLD ORDER VALUES

### Weeks 4 & 5 Peace

Boulding, Kenneth, "The War Trap."
Senghass, Dieter, "Conflict Formations in Contemporary International Society."
Lewin, Leonard C., "War and Peace As Social Systems", and "The Functions of War."
Text of the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" of the Soviet Union and the United States States (The McCloy-Zorin Agreement).
Article 6 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.
Johansen, Robert C. *Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System.*
Tolstoy, Leo, "The Beginning of the End."

### Weeks 6 & 7 Economic Well-Being

Keyfitz, Nathan, "World Resources and the World Middle Class."
Cooper, Richard N., "A New International Economic Order for Mutual Gain."
Amin, Samir, "Toward a Structural Crisis of World Capitalism."
Kohler, Gernot, "Global Apartheid."
Salvador Allende's Address Delivered at the Inaugural Ceremony on 13 April, 1972, Third Session of UNCTAD.
Houari Boumedienne's Address at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly.
Fidel Castro's Speech before the Plenary of the 34th Session of the General Assembly.
Disarmament for a Just World: Declaration of Principles, Proposal for a Treaty, and Call for Action (the New Delhi Declaration).

### Weeks 8 & 9 Justice

Introductory Remarks
Ajami, Fouad, "Human Rights and World Order Politics."
Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
The Lusaka Manifesto.
Universal Declaration on the Rights of Peoples, Algiers, 4 July 1976.
Falk, Richard A., "Comparative Protection of Human Rights in Capitalist and Socialist Third World Countries."

### Weeks 10 & 11 Ecological Balance

Pirages, Dennis, "The Origins of Ecopolitics."
Lovins, Amory B., "Energy Strategy: The Road Not Taken?"
The Trilateral Commission, "Summary of the Report" and "Conclusions."
Christensen, Cheryl, "The Right to Food: How to Guarantee."
Cousins, Norman, "Who Owns the Ozone?"
Orr, David W. and Hill, Stuart, "Leviathan, the Open Society, and Crisis of Ecology."

### Week 12 Participation and Governance

Crozier, Michael, Huntington, Samuel P. and Watanuki, Joji, "The Current Pessimism About Democracy" and "The Challenges Confronting Democratic Government."
Frakt, Phyllis, "Mao's Concept of Representation."
Ajami, Fouad, "Third World and World Order."
Alger, Chadwick F., "Role of People in the Future Global Order."
Falk, Richard A., "Anarchism and World Order."

## PART III. TOWARD A JUST WORLD ORDER

### Week 13 Transition Strategies and Preferred Futures

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, "America in the Technetronic Age."
Bell, Daniel, "The Future World Disorder: The Structural Context of Crisis."

Montreal Statement of WOMP II (Fouad Ajami and Richard A. Falk).
Harman, Willis W., "The Coming Transformation."
Lakey, George. *A Manifesto for Nonviolent Revolution.*
Clark, Grenville and Sohn, Louis B., "Two Alternative Plans."
Ophuls, William, "Toward a Politics of the Steady State."
"To Set in Motion the Process of Change", *The 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Report.*
Kothari, Rajni, "Toward a Just World."

# An Introduction to World Order

**Richard Falk** Fall 1979
Department of Politics / Princeton University / Princeton, NJ 08540

**The following books are required reading.**

Gowan, Suzanne, and others. *Moving Toward A New Society.* (Philadelphia, PA: New Society Press, 1976).
Lessing, Doris. *Memoirs of a Survivor* (New York: Bantam, 1975).
LeGuin, Ursula. *The Dispossessed.* (New York, Avon 1974).
Mendel, Arthur,(ed.). *Essential Works of Marxism.* (New York: Bantam, 1971).
Falk Richard A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* (New York: Free Press, 1975).
Heilbroner, Robert. *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.* (New York: Norton, 1974)."
Esfandiary, F.M. *Up-Wingers: A Futurist Manifesto.* (New York: Popular Library, 1973).
Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth.* (New York: Grove, 1965).
Lawrence, D.H. *Apocalypse.* (New York: Penguin ed., 1976).
Stringfellow, William. *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land.* (Albuquerque, NM: Word Books, 1973).
Readings with an asterisk are recommended, but optional.

## PART I: PROBLEMATIQUE

### I. Agenda, Framework and Orientation

Wallerstein, Immanuel, "Some Reflections on History, the Social Sciences and Politics", *The Capitalist World Economy.* (New Rochelle, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1979). pp. VII-XII.
Camus, Albert. *The Rebel.* (New York: Knopf, 1954). pp. 302-6.
Falk, Richard A., "Contending Approaches to World Order", *Journal of International Affairs.* Vol.31, pp. 171-198.
Falk, Richard A. *This Endangered Planet.* (New York: Random House, 1971). Ch. IV, The Four Dimensions of Planetary Danger.
*Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century.* (Campbell, CA: Academy Press, 1976).
*Schurmann, Franz. *The Logic of World Power: An Inquiry Into the Origins, Currents and Contradictions of World Politics.* (New York: Pantheon, 1974).

### II. The Cultural and Human Setting

Lessing, Doris. *Memoirs of a Survivor.*
*Lessing, Doris. *Briefing for a Descent into Hell.* (New York: Knopf, 1971).
*Lessing, Doris. *The Four-Gated City.* (New York: New American Library, 1976).
Beckett Samuel. *Endgame* (1958) and Waiting for Godot (1954). (New York: Grove Press).
*Herzog, Arthur. *The Swarm.* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974).
*Percy, Walker. *Lancelot.* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1977).
*Percy, Walker. *Love in the Ruins.* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1971).
*Blackham, H.J. *Six Existential Thinkers.* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1952).
*Said, Edward. *Orientalism.* (New York: Random, 1979).
*Snyder, Gary. *Earth House Hold.* (New York: New Directions, 1969).

### III. The Dark Prospect

Heilbroner, Robert. *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.* (New York: Norton, 1974).
Hardin, Garrett, "The Tragedy of the Commons", in H. Daly, ed. *Toward a Steady State Economy.* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1973). pp. 133-148.

Meadows, Donella, and others. *The Limits to Growth.* (New York: Universe, 1974). pp. 17-87.

Ophuls, William. *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity.* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1977). pp. 1-45.

*Goldsmith, Edward, and others. *Blueprint for Survival.* (New York: New American Library, 1972).

*Galtung, Johan "The Limits to Growth and Class Politics", *Journal of Peace Research.* Vol.8, pp. 101-114.

*Wilson, Kenneth D., ed. *Prospects for Growth: Changing Expectations for the Future.* (New York: Praegar, 1977).

*Brown, Lester. *The Twenty-Ninth Day.* (New York: Norton, 1978).

*Caldicott, Helen. *Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do.* (Brookline, MA: Autumn Press, 1979).

### IV. The Bright Prospect

Kahn, Herman, and others. *The Next Two Hundred Years.* (New York: Morrow, 1976). pp. 1-57, 181-226.

Esfandiary, F.M. *Up-Wingers: A Futurist Manifesto.* (New York: Popular Library, 1977).

*Stavrianos, L.S. *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age.* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1976).

*Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Age.* (New York: Penguin, 1976).

*Beckerman, Wilfred. *In Defense of Economic Growth.* (London: J. Cape, 1974).

### V. The Revolutionary Imperative

Shariati, Ali. *Reflections of a Concerned Muslim on the Plight of Oppressed People."* *Race and Class* 21 (Summer, 1979), pp. 33-40.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth.*

Boulding, Elise. *The Underside of History: A View Of Women Through Time.* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976). pp. 3-64, 753-791.

Daly, Mary. *GynEcology.* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1980). pp. XI-XVI, 1-34, 385-424.

Marx, Karl and Engles, Friederich, "The Communist Manifesto" in Mendel, Arthur. *Essential Works of Marxism.* pp. 13-44.

Lenin, "State and Revolution", Mendel. pp. 103-198.

Arendt, Hannah. *On Revolution.* (New York: Penguin, 1977).

*Naiphaul, V.S. *Guerrillas.* (New York: Knopf, 1975).

*Didion, Joan. *A Book of Common Prayer.* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977).

*Chaliand, Gerard. *Revolution in the Third World.* (New York: Viking Press 1977).

*Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the Revolution in France and Other Essays.* (New York: Dutton, 1953).

*Paine, Thomas. *The Rights of Man.* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1976).

*Brinton, Crane. *The Anatomy of Revolution.* (New York: Random, 1965).

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. *From Under the Rubble.* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1975).

*Vivo, Raul Valdes. *Ethiopia's Revolution.* (New York: International Pubs. Co., 1978).

*Leys, Simon. *Chinese Shadows.* (New York: Viking Press, 1977).

*Berger, Peter. *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Etnics and Social Change.* (New York: Doubleday, 1975). pp.IX-XIII.

*Sakarov, Andrei. *My Country and the World.* (New York: Knopf, 1975).

*Medvedev, Roy. *On Socialist Democracy.* (New York: Knopf, 1975).

*Marx, Karl. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* (San Francisco, CA: China Books, 1978).

### VI. The Religions Imperative

Lawrence, D.H. *Apocalypse.* pp.3-126.

Stringfellow, William. *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land.* pp.11-64, 97-156.

Merton, Thomas. *The Wall of Chuang Tzu.* (New York: New Directions, 1969). pp. 15-31, 40-41, 42-43, 97.

*Yoder, John Hower. *The Politics of Jesus.* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972). pp.11-63.

*Gager, John G. *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity.* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975).

*Schumacher, E.F. *A Guide for the Perplexed.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

*de Chardin, Teilhard. *The Future of Man.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

*Rathbun, Harry J. *Creative Initiative: Guide to Fulfillment.*

*Shariati, Ali. *On The Sociology of Islam.* (Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press, 1979). pp.97-110, 119-125. (see also, H. Algar. Introduction).

## PART TWO: TOWARD A GLOBAL POLICY

### VII. Shaping Vision

Wallerstein, Immanuel, "Rise and Future Demise of Capitalism", *The Capitalist World-Economy.* pp.1-36.

Falk, Richard A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* pp.1-55 ("Points of Departure").

Nietzsche, F., "The 'Improvers' of Mankind" in *Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ.* (New York: Penguin, 1969). pp.55-59.

Claude, Inis Jr. *Power and International Relations.* (New York: Random, 1962). pp.3-10, 11-39.

*Bergsten, Fred, Berthoin, Georges, and de Mushakoji, Kinhi. *The Reform of International Institutions.* Trilateral Commission, Trilateral Paper No.11, (New York, 1976).

*Brown, Seyom. *New Forces in World Politics.* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974).

*Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

*Keohane, Robert and Nye, Joseph. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition.* (Boston, MA: Little, 1977).

*Falk, Richard A., "The World Order Models Project and Its Critics: A Reply", *International Organization.* Vol.32, No.2. Spring, 1978. pp.531-545.

*Beres, Louis Rene and Targ, Harry R., eds. *Planning Alternative World Futures: Values, Methods and Models.* (New York: Praeger, 1975).

*Laszlo, Ervin, and others. *Goals for Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of Global Community.* (New York: New American Library, 1978).

*Schiffer, Walter. *The Legal Community of Mankind.* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972).

*Hinsley, F.S. *Power and the Pursuit of Peace.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

*Northrop, F.S.C. *The Meeting of East and West.* (New York: Macmillan, 1960).

### VIII. The Tyranny of Centralism

Clark, Grenville and Sohn, Louis B. *World Peace Through World Law.* 3rd Rev. Ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

Claude, Inis L. Jr. *Power and International Relations.* pp. 205-271.

Falk, Richard A., "Anarchism and World Order", in J.R. Pennock and J. W. Chapman, eds. *Anarchism. Nomox XIX.* (New York: New York University Press, 1978). pp.63-87.

*Plato. *The Republic.* Francis Cornford, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

*Dogloff, Sam, ed. *Bakunin on Anarchy.* (New York: Random, 1972).

*Kropotkin, P. *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution.* Martin Miller, ed. (Boston: MIT Press, 1970).

*Krimerman, Leonard and Perry, Lewis, eds. *Patterns of Anarchy.* (New York: Anchor Books, 1966).

*Woodcock, George. *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements.* (New York: New American Library, 1962).

•Mazrui, Ali, "World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus", Mendlovitz, Saul. *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (New York: Free Press, 1975).

•Wager, W. Warren. *Building the City of Man.* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1971).

•Kohr, Leopold. *The Breakdown of Nations.* (New York: Dutton, 1978).

•Glasser, Ralph. *The Net and the Quest: Patterns of Community and How They Survive Progress.* (New York: Universe, 1978).

### IX. Design Sketches

Engles, F., "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", in Mendel. pp. 13-44.

Tse-tung, Mao. "Combat Liberalism, Long Live Leninism", in Mendel. pp.514-562.

Falk, Richard A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* pp.150-223. "Designing A New World Order".

•Gunn, James. *Alternate Worlds: The Illustrated History of Science Fiction.* (New York, A&W Pubs., 1976).

•Arguelles, Jose A. *The Transformative Vision: Reflections on the Nature and History of Human Experience.* (Boulder, CO: Shambhala Pubns., 1975).

### X. Transition Prospects

Falk, Richard A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* pp.277-349. "The Transition Process."

•Hoffmann, Stanley, "Obstinate or Obsolete: The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe", *Daedalus.* Summer 1966. pp. 862-915.

•Schurmann, Franz. *The Logic of World Power: An Inquiry into the Origins Currents and Contradictions of World Politics.* (New York: Pantheon, 1974). pp.127-142.

•Whitman, Marina N., "Leadership Without Hegemony", *Foreign Policy* Vol.20, 1975-1976. pp.138-160.

•Camps, Miriam. *The Management of Interdependence.* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 1974).

•Cooper, Richard, Kaiser. Karl and Kosaka, Masataka. *Toward a Renovated International System.* Trilateral Commission, Triangle Paper No. 14, 1977, New York.

•Bergsten, C. Ered, Berthoin, Georges, and de Mushakoji, Kinhi. *The Reform of International Institutions.*

Brown, Seyom. *New Forces in World Politics.*

•Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society.*

Keohane, Robert and Nye, Joseph. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition.*

### XI. The Perspective of Struggle

Diamond, Stanley. *In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civilization.* (New York: Dutton, 1974).

Wallerstein, I. *The Capitalist World Economy.* pp.231-293.

Falk, Richard A. and others. *Struggle for the Planet.* (Preliminary version, Chapters 1-3).

Camera, Helder. *Revolution Through Peace.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

Ghandi, M. *Ghandi on Non-Violence.* Thomas Merton, ed. (New York: New Directions, 1965).

Sharp, Gene, "Disregarded History: The Power of Non-Violent Action", *Fellowship.* Vol.42, March 1976.

•Walzer, Michael, "Afterword: Nonviolence and the Theory of War", in *Just and Unjust Wars.* 1977, pp.329-335.

### XII. Acting in America

Falk, Richard A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* pp.413-495."America's Stake in Global Reform."

Gowan, Suzanne and others. *Moving Toward a New Society.* pp.1-120, 163-296.

•Dellinger, David. *Revolutionary Nonviolence.* (New York: Doubleday, 1971).

•Satin, Mark. *New Age Politics: Healing Self and Society.* (Vancouver, BC.: Fairwether Press, 1978).

*Roszak, Theodore. *Unfinished Animal.* (New York: Harper & Row 1975).
*Etzioni, Amitai. *The Active Society.* (New York: Free Press, 1968).
*Smullyan, Raymond. *The Tao is Silent.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).
*Todd, Nancy Jack. *The Book of the New Alchemists.* (New York: Dutton, 1977).
*Bateson, Gregory. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind.* (New York: Ballantine, 1975).
*Snyder, Gary. *The Old Ways: Six Essays.* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights, 1977).
*Wills, Garry. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.* (New York: Random, 1979).
*Berry, Wendell. *The Unsettling of America.* (New York: Avon, 1978).

**XIII. A Summing Up**

LeGuinn, Ursula. *The Dispossessed.*
*Thompson, William Irwin. *Darkness and Scattered Light.* (New York: Doubleday, 1978).

# Introduction to International Relations

**Louis Rene Beres** Fall, 1979
Politics 130 / Department of Political Science / Purdue University / West Lafayette, IN 47907

This course is designed to acquaint beginning students with some of the most critical problems that confront the planet, and with a considerable array of means and strategies by which these problems might be overcome. In examining the prevailing crises of international political life and the challenges of a new planetary civilization, students will be made aware of the most prominent transnational reformist projects: The Club of Rome; The Council on Foreign Relations 1980s Project; and The World Order Models Project. Throughout the course, students will be encouraged to develop their own personal plans for transforming world politics and reordering the planet. In fact, the final examination—prepared cumulatively at home—involves the design of an improved system of world order that is feasible as well as desirable. Private conferences are scheduled with Professor Beres to assist students in this design effort.

## A NOTE ON PROCEDURE

Political Science 130 is conceived as a sustained investigation of selected problems and orientations in the field of world politics. The readings and class sessions represent a pair of closely-linked, interdependent parts. For this reason, students are expected to partake of both parts on a regular basis.

## EXAMINATIONS

There will be two examinations: (1) an in-class midterm; and (2) a special kind of paper involving the design of an alternative world system. This typewritten paper is to be submitted on the last day of class.

## BOOKS

The following paperback books are recommended for purchase:

Beres, L.R. and Targ, Harry R. *Constructing Alternative World Futures: Reordering the Planet.* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Pub. Co., 1972).

Falk, R. A. *A Study of Future Worlds* (Preferred Worlds for the 1990's Series). (New York: The Free Press, 1975).

Camilleri, J.A. *Civilization in Crisis: Human Prospects in a Changing World.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Hoffman, S. *Primacy Or World Order: American Foreign Policy Since The Cold War.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

Cline, R. *World Power Assessment 1977: A Calculus of Strategic Drift.* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977).

Wriggins, W. *Reducing Global Inequities.* (New York: McGrawHill, 1978).

Laszlo, E., et.al. *Goals For Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of Global Community.* (Club of Rome Series, No. 4). (New York: New American Library, 1978).

## SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND CLASS SESSIONS

**Topic I: On the Study of International Relations**

Beres and Targ, *Constructing Alternative World Futures.* Introduction and Part I, "Historical and Contemporary Models of Alternative World Futures".

Beres. "World Order, What It Is and What It Can Become", mimeo.

**Topic II: On the History of the State of Nations**

Beres and Targ. Chapter 8, "The Dynamics of Power Management in the Present World System".

Hoffman, S. *Primacy Or World Order.* Part one, "Thirty Years of Foreign Policy.

**Topic III: The State of Nations as State of Nature**

Falk, R. A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* Chapter 2, "Trends and Patterns in World Society".

Hoffman, S. *Primacy Or World Order.* Part Two. "The Nightmare of World Order".

Golding, William, *Lord of the Flies.* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc., 1978).

**Topic IV: The Conceptual Underpinnings of International Relations Study**

Cline, T. *World Power Assessment.* Chapters 1-6.

**Topic V: The Continuing Great Debate: Idealism vs. Realism**

Hoffman, S. *Primacy Or World Order.* Part Three, "An American Policy of World Order".

Cline, R. *World Power Assessment.* Chapters 7&8.

Beres. "American Foreign Policy and World Order: Learning from Lessons of the Past", mimeo.

**Topic VI: On World Systems**

Falk, R. A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* Part One, "Points of Departure"; Chapter 2, "Trends and Patterns in World Society", (pp. 80-149).

**Topic VII: The Actors in World Politics**

Beres and Targ. Chapter 9. "Actors".

Fishlow, A., et.al. *Rich and Poor Nations in the World Economy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

**Topic VIII: The Structure of World Politics**

Beres and Targ. Chapter 12, "Structure".

**Topic IX: The Processes of World Politics**

Beres and Targ. Chapter 10, "Processes".

Beres, L.R. *The Management of World Power: A Theoretical Analysis.* (Monograph Series in World Affairs, Vol. 10). (Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, 1972-1973).

**Topic X: The Context of World Politics: Nuclear Weapons Technology**

Beres, L.R. *Apocalypse. Nuclear Catastrophe in World Politics.*

Gompert, D.C., et.al. *Nuclear Weapons and World Politics: Alternatives For The Future.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1977).

Gray, C.S. *The Geopolitics of the Nuclear Era: Heartlands, Rimlands and The Technological Revolution.* (New York: Crane, Russak & Co., 1977).

**Topic XI: The International Legal Order**

Beres and Targ. Chapter 8, "The Dynamics of Power Management in the Present World System".

Beres, L.R., "World Order Orientations to International Law", *Western Political Quarterly* March, 1976, pp. 29-42.

**Topic XII: Economic Order in a Violent World**

Falk, R.A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* Part Six, "The World Economy as a World Order Dimension: Selected Aspects".

Wriggins, W.H., et.al. *Reducing Global Inequities.*

Leontief, W., et.al. *The Future of the World Economy: A United Nations Study.* (New York: Oxford Press, 1972).

### Topic XIII: Three Images of War

The First Image: Man

Waltz, K. Man, *The State and War.* pp. 1-79. (Institute of War and Peace Series). (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

The Second Image: The State

Waltz, pp. 80-158.

The Third Image: The System

Waltz, pp. 159-223.

### Topic XIV: The Problem, or What's Wrong with the World

Voltaire, Candide. (New York: Random House, 1975).

Beres and Targ. Preface.

Camilleri, J.A. *Civilization in Crisis.*

### Topic XV: Terrorism

Beres, L.R. *Terrorism and International Security.* (ACDA Report).

Beres, L.R. *Terrorism and Global Security: The Nuclear Threat.* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979).

Laquer, Walter, ed. *The Terrorism Reader.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

### Topic XVI: Human Rights

UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Mimeo.

### Topic XVII: Some Interesting Ideas for Planning the Future

Beres, L.R. *First Steps in Building An Ark of Renewal: Student Views of World Order*

Beres and Targ. Part I. "Historical and Contemporary Models of Alternative World Futures".

Plus one of the following:

Falk, R.A. *A Study of Future Worlds.* Parts Three, Four, Five.

Laszlo, E. *Goals for Mankind.*

Cooper, R., et.al. "Towards A Renovated International System," The Trilateral Commission. The Triangle Papers, No. 14, 1977, NY.

### Topic XVIII: Matters of Method: Science

Beres, L.R., "On Studying World Order: A Plea for Systematic Inquiry", *Policy Sciences,* December 1973.

Beres, L.R., "Reordering the Planet: The Four Phases of World Order Design", in Beres and Targ, *Planning Alternative World Futures: Values, Methods and Models.* (New York: Praeger, 1975).

### Topic XIX: Matters of Method: Other Modalities of "Knowing"

Any one of the following:

Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre. *The Phenomenon of Man.* (New York; Harper & Row, 1965).

Sri Aurobindo. *The Mind of Light.* (New York: Dutton, 1971).

Thompson, William Irwin. *Passages About Earth.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975).

Clarke, Arthur C. *Childhood's End.* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1963).

### Topic XX: Matters of Substance: The Idea of Human Unity and Cosmopolis

Beres, L.R., "The Errors of Cosmopolis", *Philosophy Today,* Nov. 1974.

Beres and Targ. Chapter 6, "World Order Perspectives and Alternative World Futures".

Wager, W. Warren. *Building the City of Man.* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1971).

**Topic XXI: Must We Transform the Individual**

Beres, L.R., "Transforming Man: The Human Roots of World Order Reform". *The Philosophy Forum*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1&2, 1977.

Beres, L.R. "Behavioral Strategies of World Order Reform". *International Journal of Group Tensions*, June 1974.

Skinner, B.F. *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. (New York: Knopf, Alfred A. Inc., 1971).

Thompson, W.I. *At the Edge of History: Speculations on the Transformation of Culture.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

Pettman, R. *Human Behavior and World Politics: A Transdisciplinary Introduction* (London: MacMillan, 1975).

**Topic XXII: Must We Transform States?**

Beres, L.R. *Transforming World Politics: The National Roots of World Peace.* (Monograph Series in World Affairs, Vol. 12). (Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, 1974-5).

**Topic XXIII: Final Discussion of Proposed Alternatives**

# Problems in Peace, Justice and the Processes of Change

**Karl W. Deutsch** Fall 1979-80
Department of Government / Harvard University / Cambridge, MA 02138

This course was initiated in 1974 through the work of a group of faculty members, undergraduates and graduate students representing a variety of disciplines. Since then, the course has introduced global issues and the prospects for human survival. The course begins with the assumption that the state of peace and justice among and within nations leaves a great deal to be desired. The course consists of a series of lectures based on assigned readings, and sections. Each year, between fifteen and twenty members of the Harvard faculty participate in the course. Many present one lecture, some present two. This year, Karl Deutsch, Stanfield Professor of International Peace, will lay the groundwork for the course and give key lectures throughout the semester. The guest lecturers will provide us with firsthand knowledge of the many problems related to peace and justice.

## DETAILS AND REQUIREMENTS

*Class format* will vary with lecturers, but we hope that one hour will allow time for both lecture and questions.

*Classes* will meet Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays 12:00 - 1:00 plus section meetings at times to be announced.

*Sections*

Because of the necessity of digesting and relating a broad number of topics, section meetings are of critical importance in the course. Each section functions as a seminar with the task of providing continuity in the course. Over the years, students have reported that these sections are crucial to making the breadth of the course an asset rather than a liability. Attendance at section meetings is required. Section attendance and participation will account for 20% of the final course grade. Each section will meet once each week for 90 minutes.

*Section Assignments*

Each week at the conclusion of the Friday lecture beginning Sept. 28, a question will be posed. In response to any five of these questions, students will prepare five short essays or "position papers" (300-500 words) which will be due at the next week's section meeting.

**Readings**

Students prepare for lectures by completing reading assignments ranging from 90 to 150 pages per week.

This, coupled with the importance of section preparation, makes it crucial for students to stay up to date with assigned readings. We also will be including information from various organizations trying to address the issues covered in this course. The following books are required:

Deutsch, Karl W. *Analysis of International Relations.* (Foundations of Modern Political Science Series), 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979).

Sivard, Ruth. *World Military and Social Expenditures* (Leesburg, VA: WMSE Pubs. 1979).

Fisher, Roger. *International Conflict for Beginners.* (New York: Harper & Row Pubs, Inc., 1970).

Keyfitz, Nathan. *Population and Human Welfare.* (New York: Scientific American, 1979).

Morawetz, David. *Twenty-Five Years of Economic Development: 1950-1975.* (World Bank II Report Series) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

**Paper**

A ten to fifteen page paper will be due at the conclusion of the December 17 lecture. The paper will be on a topic chosen by you and approved in advance by your section leader. This paper will account for 20% of the final course grade.

**Final Examination**

A final examination will account for 40% of the final course grade. We've included here a copy of last year's exam for your information.

**Summary of Grading**

| | |
|---|---|
| Section attendance and participation | 20% |
| Section assignments (5 out of 10) | 20% |
| Paper | 20% |
| Final examination | 40% |

## LECTURE AND READINGS SCHEDULE

**Sept. 17 Introduction**

**Sept. 19 The Emergence of Global Society:**
**Peace and Justice as a Normative Orientation.**

Deutsch, Karl W., "Peace Research: The Need, the Problems, and the Prospects". Middlebury Lecture, 1972.

**Sept. 21 Peace and Prospects for the Future**

Deutsch, Karl W., "Some Prospects for the Future", Ch.20 in *Analysis of International Relations 2nd ed.*

**Sept. 24**

Film: *War Without Winners*, produced by the Center for Defense Information

**Sept. 24**

Talk by Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense.

Deutsch, Part I, "What We Want to Know: The Substance of International Relations". preface and introduction, pp.7-52.

Sivard, Ruth. *World Military and Social Expenditures. 1979.*
(This will be used as a reference throughout the semester).

**Sept. 26 The Analysis of International Relations**

*Deutsch*, Part II. "The Actors in International Politics", pp.53-82.

**Sept. 28 An Historical Perspective on War and Peace**

*Deutsch*, Ch. 8, "How A State Controls Itself".
*Deutsch*, Ch. 9, "How Foreign Policy is Made".
*Deutsch*, Ch. 10, "The Foreign Policy Sector".

**Oct. 1 An Historical Perspective on War and Peace (continued)**

*Deutsch*, Ch.12, "Diplomacy and Coalitions".
*Deutsch*, Ch. 13, "Failures of Controls and Forms of War".
*Deutsch*, Ch. 14, "Some Alternatives to Escalation and Warfare".

**Oct. 3 Coping with International Conflict**

Fisher, Roger. *International Conflict for Beginners.*

**Oct. 5 The Case of South Africa**

Department of State, "Background Notes: South Africa, June, 1977."
South African Solidarity Committee. "Harvard and South Africa." June, 1978.

The Africa Fund, "Prosperity 'For Whites Only': The Paradox of Economic Growth in South Africa."

Nickel, Herman, "The Case for Doing Business in South Africa", June 19, 1978.

Come prepared to consider the question: Should the Americans withdraw their investments from South Africa?

**Oct. 8 Holiday**

**Oct. 10 Psychological Approaches to Conflict Resolution**

Kelman, Herbert C. and Bloom, Alfred, "Assumptive Frameworks in International Politics", in Jeanne N. Knutson (ed.), *Handbook of Political Psychology*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973), pp. 261-295.

**Oct. 12 The UN and the Law of the Seas**

Eichelberger, Clark M. *The U.N.: The First 25 Years*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1970). Read introduction, conclusion, and the chapters on peaceful settlement of disputes, collective security and peacekeeping.

**Oct. 15 Nationalism**

Deutsch, Ch. 11, "How Conflicts Arise Among States."

**Oct. 16**

Film: *Controlling Interests* (on multinationals) and discussion Vernon, Raymond, "Storm over the Multinationals: Problems and Prospects", *Foreign Affairs* 55, 2, January 1977.

**Oct. 17 New International Economic Order**

Ferguson, C. Clyde Jr., "The Politics of the New International Economic Order", *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 2, 4, 1977.

**Oct. 19 New American Ideology**

Lodge, George, "The Uses of Ideology for Environmental Analyses", Harvard Business School reprint.

**Oct. 22 Imperialism and Neocolonialism**

Deutsch, Karl W., "Imperialism and Neocolonialism", *The Papers of the Peace Science Society (International) 23*, 1974.

Galtung, Johan, excerpt from "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", *Journal of Peace Research 2*, 1971.

*Deutsch*. Ch. 19, "Interdependence, Dependence and Increased Equality: Which Way is the World Going?"

**Oct. 24 International Integration**

*Deutsch*. Ch. 15, "Integration: International and Supranational".

*Deutsch*. Ch. 16, "Universal General-Purpose Organizations"

*Deutsch*. Ch. 17, "Regional Organizations".

*Deutsch*. Ch. 18, "Attaining and Maintaining Integration".

**Oct. 26 Six Concepts of Justice**

Kohlberg, Lawrence and Scharf, Peter, "Bureaucratic Violence and Conventional Moral Thinking", Reprint, Moral Education Research Foundation, 1972.

Gilligan, Carol, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of the Self and Morality", *Harvard Educational Review 47, 4*, 1977, excerpt.

Frank, Jerome and Nash, Earl, "Commitment to Peace Work: A Preliminary Study of Determinants and Sustainers of Behavioral Change", *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 35*, 1965.

**Oct. 29 Human Rights**

Frankel, Charles, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy", Headline Series 241, Foreign Policy Association, October 1978.

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, in Sohn and Buergenthal, *Basic Documents on International Protection of Human Rights.* (Indianapolis: Bobbs and Merrill, 1973).

Rowles, James, "Human Rights in the World Today: An Introduction", paper prepared for Soc Sci 173. Spring, 1979 (opt.).

**Oct. 30**

Film: *We've Always Done It This Way* (on worker-headed conversion of Lucas industries from defense industry to consumer needs).

**Oct. 31 Justice, Science, Technology and Human Rights**

Dickson, David. *The Politics of Alternative Technology.*

Ch.4, "Utopian Technology—Some Basic Principles."

Ch.7, "Myths and Responsibilities."

**Nov. 2 Justice, Technological Development and Social Structure**

Friedman, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963). Chs. 1,2, 10.

Edwards, Reich and Weisskopf (eds.). *Capitalist System,* 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978). Sections 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 8.1.

**Nov. 5 How Global Issues Impinge on Each Other: Human Needs and Rising Expectations.**

Deutsch, Karl W., "On Inequality and Limited Growth: Some World Political Effects", *International Studies Quarterly.* Nov. 1975.

**Nov. 6 Some Intertwining Global Issues**

Keyfitz, Nathan. *Population and Human Welfare.* (New York: Scientific American, 1979.)

**Nov. 7 Food**

Timmer, Peter, "The World Food Problem", unpublished manuscript, 1979.

**Nov. 9**

Film: *Casimiro* (made by Oxfam, story of a Bolivian peasant in search of alternatives to bare subsistence living for his fellow villagers).

**Nov. 12 Holiday**

**Nov. 13**

Slide Show: *World Food Policy: Third World Perspective* and/or Simulation Game: Baldicer

**Nov. 14 Energy and Ecology**

Hogan, W. (ed.). *Energy Information: Description, Diagnosis and Design.* (Stanford, CA: Institute for Energy Studies, Stanford University, 1978). Ch. 9 "Environmental Impacts of Energy Production and Use: A Framework for Informational Analysis".

Comar, C.L. and Sagan, L.A., "Health-Effects of Energy Production and Conversion in J. Hollander (ed.), *Annual Review Of Energy I.* (Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, Inc., 1976) Hasele, W. and Sassin, W., in J. Hollander (ed.), *Annual Review of Energy, II.* (Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, Inc., 1977).

Roberts, Marc and Stewart, R.B. *Energy and Environment* Ch. 10, pp. 411-420, 450-456. (optional)

Owen, H. and Schultze, C.L. *Setting National Priorities: The Next 10 Years.* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1976).

**Nov. 16 Economic Development**

Morawetz, David. *Twenty-Five Years of Economic Development, 1950-1975.* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1977).

Migdal, Joel., "State Goals and Societal Resistance: Patterns of State-Society Relations." (to be published).

**Nov. 21 Learning As A Global Issue**

Botkin, Elmanjdra, Malitza. *No Limits to Learning: Learning to Bridge the Human Gap. A Report to the Club of Rome* (London: Pergamon Press, 1979).

Oliver, Donald and Keen, Jim, "Global Issues and Community", *The History and Social Sciences Teacher*, 3, 4, 1978.

**Nov. 23 Holiday**

**Nov. 26 Conceptualizing the Future:** Global Issues and World Modelling

Deutsch, Karl W., "On World Models and Political Science", *Journal of Comparative Politics 14*, 1, Winter 1979.

**Nov. 27 The Coming Age**

**Nov. 28 Nuclear Proliferation**

Nye, Joseph, "Nonproliferation: A Long-Term Strategy", *Foreign Affairs 56*, 3, April 1978.

**Nov. 30 Disarmament and World Government**

Sheenan, William M. *Stop Global Drift.* Pamphlet, Center for The Future. 1978.

Johansen, Robert, "Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System." (New York: Institute for World Order, 1978).

**Dec. 3 Sources of Environmental Conflict**

Schelling, Thomas, "Environmental Concerns and International Conflict", *Organization for Foreign Policy 1*, June 1975.

Dorfman and Dorfman. *Economics of the Environment.* (New York: Norton, 1977). Ch. III, "International Environmental Problems: A Taxonomy."

**Dec. 4 Nonviolent Action:** Perpetual Dissent or Fundamental Change

Sharp, Gene. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action.* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1973). Chs. 1, 2, and Table of Contents.

Sharp, Gene. Social Power and Political Freedom.(Forthcoming). Chs. "Rethinking Politics". and "Popular Enpowerment for Fundamental Change".

**Dec. 5 Arms Control**

Luttwak, Edward, "Ten Questions About Salt II" *Commentary.* August, 1979, pp. 21-32.

**Dec. 7 The Individual and Social Change**

Kelman, Herbert and Warwick, Donald, "Bridging Micro and Macro Approaches to Social Change: A Social-Psychological Perspective". in Gerald Zaltman (ed.), *Processes and Phenomena of Social Change.* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973).

**Dec. 10 Social Transformation and People's Lives**

Four case studies to be recommended by Oct. 1.

**Dec. 12 Social Transformation (continued)**

Foster, Badi and Dixon, Vernon (eds.) *Beyond Black or Black.* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1971).

Halpern, Manfred, "A Redefinition of the Revolutionary Situation", *Journal of International Affairs 23*, 1, 1969.

**Dec. 14 Moving Toward Commitment**

Loevinger, Jane. *Ego Development* (San Francisco: JosseyBassi 1976). Ch.5. "Alternative Conceptions."

Perry, William G. Jr. *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years: A Scheme.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970). Ch, 5.

**Dec. 17 The Future of World Politics**

**Jan. 15 Final Exam**

# Problems in World Community

**Spring 1979** **Spring 1980**
Peace and World Order Studies Program / Colgate University / Hamilton, NY 13346

The course "Problems of World Community" was initiated in 1973, and has since served as the basic introduction to the Peace and World Order Studies Program at Colgate University. Presented here are two versions of the course: one offered in Spring, 1979 that focuses on Third World Economic Development and the second one taught in Spring, 1980 that deals with the world's energy problems. They illustrate how a basic course can be revised and updated each semester to reflect new topical world problems, yet provide students with the basic understanding and knowledge which is its purpose. Both versions of the course are still relevant today, however.

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## COURSE #1

Ted Herman, David Rodda, Carolyn Stephenson Spring, 1979

**Materials to be purchased**

**Readings**

Meadows, Donnella L. et al. *The Limits to Growth.* (New York: Universe, 1972).
Brown, Lester R. *The Twenty-Ninth Day.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).
Sivard, Ruth L. *World Military & Social Expenditures, 1978.* (Leesburg, VA: WMSE Publications, 1978).
Hartmann, Betsy and Boyce, James. "Bangladesh: Aid to the Needy?", *International Policy Report IV,* 1, May 1978.
Schumacher, E. F. *Small is Beautiful.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
Mische, Gerald and Patricia. *Toward A Human World Order.* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977).

**Feb. 2 Introduction to the Course**

### I. WHAT IS WORLD COMMUNITY?

**Feb. 6**

Plano, Jack C. and Riggs, Robert E., "Building Political Community", in *Forging World Order: The Politics of International Organizations.* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

For a clear definition of political community, its various forms, and examples of operation, read this article carefully. Remember, however, that there are other kinds of world community depending on purpose, and other forms of organization than just political. What are some that occur to you?

### II. THE RECOGNITION OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE

**Feb. 8**

Meadows. *The Limits to Growth.*

It was this little book that first put together in mathematical form the interrelations of explosive growth of five world factors. The authors' conclusion and method of linked projection have influenced thinking and generated strong reactions ever since

1972. Not all people share their gloom. In your opinion what have they overlooked, or, what responses do you consider necessary?

Introduction
Ch. 1, "The Nature of Exponential Growth".
Ch. 2, "The Limits of Exponential Growth".

**Feb. 13**
Ch. 3, "Growth in the World System".
Ch. 4, "Technology and The Limits to Growth".
Ch. 5, "The State of Global Equilibrium".

**Feb. 15**
Brown, *The Twenty -Ninth Day.*

Brown's book continues the account of pressures on resources in more detail. Our four days' readings divide into natural and social factors linked in man's use of the earth. The author's global view is consistent throughout.

Ch. 1, Introduction.
Ch. 2, "Ecological Stresses I: The Dimensions."
Ch. 3, "Ecological Stresses II: The Consequence."

**Feb. 20**
Ch. 4, "Population: Understanding the Threat".
Ch. 5, "Energy: The Coming Transition."

**Feb. 22**
Ch. 6, "The Food Prospect".
Ch. 7, "Economic Stresses."
Ch. 8, "Wealth Among Societies."

**Feb. 27**
Ch. 9, "Wealth Within Societies."
Ch. 10, "The Inevitable Accommodation."

**Mar. 1 Examination**

**Mar. 6**
Vance, Cyrus R., "Building a Healthy Global Community", *The Secretary of State,* September 29, 1978.
"The Context of Cultural Relations", in *Reconstituting the Human Community,* Report to Colloquium III, Bellagio, Italy, July 17-23, 1972. pp. 10-13
Sivard. *World Military & Social Expenditures,* 1978.

These three readings present different views of global interdependence. U.S. Secretary of State Vance offers an enlightened view of contemporary social and political thinking, the conference members at Bellagio clarify the role of improving cultural relations for world community, and from the authoritative Sivard study we can determine just what the world and its member nation-states can afford to spend to meet the world's needs.

**III. A CASE PROBLEM: Views on Third World Economic Development**

There are many global problems that could be studied for our purposes. We have chosen Third World economic development to show the broad range of approaches and of organizations that affect such development. Since this whole topic has come into international attention largely since World War II. experts and non-experts alike are still trying different ways and grappling with changes on the world scene. Some sharp disagreements enliven the issues.

### Mar. 8 A. Western Exploitation

Harrington, Michael, Why Poor Nations Stay Poor, *Christianity and Crisis* (October 3, 1977), pp. 211-20.

Moss, Robert "Let's Look Out for No. 1", *New York Times Magazine* (May 1, 1977), p. 31ff.

### Mar. 13 B. The New International Economic Order

Johnson, Byron L., "On a New International Economic Order'", *Fellowship* (October, 1978) pp. 8-10.

Villamil, Jose J., "Only Half a Solution", *Mazingira*, No. 3/4. (Oxford, 1977), pp. 84-90.

Boserup, Mogens, "Is Sharing a Myth?" in *Ethics for a Crowded World*. (Berkeley, CA: Center for Ethics and Social Policy, Graduate Theological Union. 1978).

### Mar. 15 C. The Role of Multinational Corporations

Barnet, Richard J., "Multinationals and Development", *New Catholic World*. (Sept/Oct, 1978), pp. 221-6.

Union Carbide Corp., "The International Responsibilities of a Multinational Corporation", (New York, 1976). Pamphlet.

Levy, Philippe, "Guidelines for the Conduct of Multinationals", *Prospects*, Swiss Bank, 1978. pp. 15-16.

### Mar. 20 D. Government-to-Government Aid

Vance, Cyrus, "Foreign Assistance and U.S. Foreign Policy", *The Secretary of State*, (May 1. 1978).

Hartman and Boyce, "Bangladesh: Aid to the Needy?"

### Mar. 22

Ascroft, Joseph, "A Conspiracy of Courtesy", *Development Digest*. (U.S. AID) (July, 1974), pp. 81-86.

Hansen, Roger D., "Option 3: U.S. Support of a Basic Human Needs Strategy of Economic Development", condensed from John W. Sewell, *The United States and World Development*. (New York: Praeger, 1977).

### Apr. 3 E. Appropriate Technology

Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful*.

In this powerful tract for the times, Schumacher includes a section on the Third World that is quite controversial.

Schmidt, Michel, "Technology Transfers and the Third World", *Prospects*, Swiss Bank (1978), pp. 2-5.

### Apr. 5 F. Self Reliance

"Urco Maya: No More Dependency". *The 7 Days Planner* (Oxfam America), 1978/1, pp. 5, 13.

"Interview in Guatemala", *The 7 Days Planner* (Oxfam, America), 1978/3, pp. 5ff.

### Apr. 10 G. Strategies for Growth and Equity

Weaver, James, Jameson, Kenneth, and Blue, Richard, "Seven Proposed Marriages for Growth and Equity", *Development Forum* (UN Geneva), (September, 1978), p. 8-9.

Foster, George, "Technological Assistance Methodology. An Anthropologist's View," *Development Digest* (U.S. AID) (July, 1974), pp. 87-94.

### Apr. 12 Projects Due

## IV. STEPS TO WORLD COMMUNITY

History is full of grand designs for the world, one mark of this age is that more and more people are coming to believe that our inter-linked problems require global action. The four subsections that follow touch on only a few of the many possibilities, giving least attention to the two aspects that have troubled the 20th Century so far: peacekeeping and international organization. We look beyond both of these familiar problems to more comprehensive efforts to identify values and to plan for world community.

**Apr. 17 A. Economics As If People Mattered**

Schumacher, Part I, The Modern World, pp. 13-78, 53-62.
Schumacher, Socialism, pp. 254-261.
Schumacher, Ownership, pp. 262-271.

**Apr. 19**

Aron, Raymond, "The Anarchical Order of Power", *Daedalus* 95, Spring, 1966, pp. 479-502.
Collins, Edward, "The Nature of International Law", in *International Law in a Changing World*. (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 2-4.
Deutsch, Karl, "International Law", in *The Analysis of International Relations*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968), pp. 161-165.
Geyer, Alan, "World Federalism Reconsidered", *Worldview*, November, 1974, pp. 35-38.

**Apr. 24 C. International Communications**

"Multinational Media", *Foreign Policy*, April 1975, pp. 155-167.
"Reconstituting the Human Community", in *Reconstituting the Human Community*, report of Colloquium III, Bellagio, Italy (July 17-23, 1972), pp. 47-51.
Clarke, Arthur C., "Beyond Babel", *UNESCO Courier*, March 1970, pp. 32-37.
Nouira, Heidi, "The Information Balance", *Development Forum*, (UN Geneva), November/December 1978, p. 10.

**Apr. 26 D. Global Planning**

Brown, Ch. 11, "The Elements of Accommodation."
Brown, Ch. 12, "The Means of Accommodation."

**May 1**

Mische and Mische, *Toward A Human World Order*.

Since national security systems give no security to nation-states or the world at large, it is necessary to devise a new model and to move for the realization of world values. Here's how!

Ch. 1, "A Crisis of Growth."
Ch. 2, "Human Development and the Security Straitjacket".
Ch. 3, "The National Security State."
Ch. 4, "The Powerlessness of Heads of State.

**May 3**

Ch. 5, "The National Security Big Six."
Ch. 6, "The Soviet Security State."
Ch. 7, "Liberation for Being."
Ch. 8, "Human/Religious Values are 'Subversive'."
Ch. 9, "On Conceiving a New World Order."
Ch. 10, "Strategies for a Just World Order, Part I: Multi-Issue Coalitions."
Ch. 11, "Strategies for a Just World Order, Part II: Network Programming."
Ch. 12, "World Order and Authentic Religion."
Ch. 13, "The Birth of a New Era."

## COURSE #2

Ted Herman, Paul Murphy, Carolyn Stephenson Spring, 1980

**Materials to be Purchased**

Brown, Lester. *The Twenty-Ninth Day.* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1978).

Eckholm, Erik. *The Other Energy Crisis: Firewood.* (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute, 1977).

Herman, Theodore et al. *Problems of World Community: A Book of Readings.* (Hamilton, NY: Colgate University, 1980).

Lovins, Amory B. *Soft Energy Paths: Toward A Durable Peace.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

Meadows, Donella, et al. *The Limits to Growth.* (New York: Signet, 1972).

Miller, Willard, "Oil and Money: How OPEC Changes the Wealth of Nations", *Focus.* (New York: American Geographical Society, Nov.-Dec. 1979).

Mische, Gerald and Pat. *Toward a Human World Order.* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977).

Schumacher, E. F. *Small is Beautiful.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

Sivard, Ruth. *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1978.* (Leesburg, VA: World Priorities, 1979).

**Feb. 2**

### I. CONCEPTS OF WORLD COMMUNITY

What is world community? We can attempt to describe it by identifying world organizations dealing with specific issues or detailing personal and social/economic ties between countries. But what *is* world community? How is it created and sustained? What are its various forms?

**Feb. 5**

Mische, Ch. 1, "A Crisis of Growth."
Ch. 2, "Human Development and the 'Security Straitjacket."
Ch. 3, "The National Security State."
Ch. 4, "The Powerlessness of Heads of State."
Sivard, pp. 1-23.

**Feb. 7**

Mische, Ch. 5, "The National Security Big Six."
Ch. 6, "The Soviet Security State."
Ch. 7, "Liberation for Being."
Ch. 8, "Human/Religious Values are 'Subversive'."

### II. GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE

Competition has had many benefits to date throughout history. However, on a rapidly shrinking and resource-exhausting planet, cooperation will be the key to survival in the years ahead. In this section we outline shared global concerns, all pointing to the fact that the world is already inescapably interdependent.

**Feb. 12**

Meadows, Ch. 1, "The Nature of Exponential Growth."
Meadows, Ch. 2, "The Limits to Exponential Growth."
Brown, Ch. 1, Introduction.
Brown, Ch. 2, "Ecological Stresses I: The Dimensions."
Brown, Ch. 3, "Ecological Stresses II: The Consequences."
Film: *The River.*

**Feb. 14**

Meadows, Ch. 3, "Growth in the World System."
Meadows, Ch. 4, "Technology and the Limits to Growth."
Meadows, Ch. 5, "The State of Global Equilibrium."

**Feb. 21**
Brown, Ch. 4, "Population: Understanding the Threat."
Brown, Ch. 5, "Energy: The Coming Transition."
Brown, Ch. 6, "The Food Prospect."

**Feb. 21**
Brown, Ch. 7, "Economic Stresses."
Brown, Ch. 8, "Wealth Among Societies."
Brown, Ch. 9, "Wealth Within Societies."

**Feb. 26**
Nesbitt, William A. *Getting Nations Together: A Close Study of the European Community*. (New York: Council on International and Public Affairs, 1979). pp. 1-12.
Slides: Sharing Global Resources

**Mar. 4 Special Session**

## III. CASE PROBLEM: Energy Problems and Policies for World Community

How do the energy supply and consumption patterns of countries around the world affect the formation of the global community? We must first evaluate the problem. Will supplies meet demand in the years ahead? What political and technological problems arise? Is there a "soft energy path"?

**Mar. 6**
Miller, "Oil and Money: How OPEC Changes the Wealth of Nations."
Healey, Denis, "Oil, Money and Recession", *Foreign Affairs* 58, 2, Winter, 1979/80, pp. 217-30.

**Mar. 11**
Lovins, Chs. 1, 2.

**Mar. 13**
Lovins, Chs. 3-8

**Mar. 18**
Lovins, Chs. 9, 10.

**Mar. 20**
Lovins, Ch. 11
Lellouche, "International Nuclear Politics", *Foreign Affairs* 58, 2, Winter 1979, pp. 336-50.

**Mar. 25**
Lantzke, Ulf, "Expanding World Use of Coal", *Foreign Affairs* 58, 2, Winter 1979/80, pp. 352-373.
Eckholm, Erik, pp. 5-20.

**Mar. 27 Examination #2.**

## IV. STRATEGIES FOR WORLD COMMUNITY

How does work on the energy question relate to the formation of world community? Are they two separate issues or part of the same question? What approaches must be taken that can both satisfy needs and maintain security?

**Apr. 8**
Walton, Keith J., "A Survey of International Energy Institutions and Policy Mechanisms", *Energy Technology and Global Policy*. (Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Books, 1977).
Mische, Patricia, "Overview and Introduction", in *The Whole Earth Papers 12*. (East Orange, NJ: Global Education Associates, 1979). pp. 20-25.

**Apr. 10**
Schumacher, Parts 1, 2.

**Apr. 15**
Schumacher, Parts 3, 4.

**Apr. 17**
Hayes, Worldwatch Paper #15, pp. 5-36.
Smil, Vaclav, "Renewable Energies: How Much and How Renewable?", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 35*, 10, December 1979.

**Apr. 22**
Rahman, A., "Science and Technology for a New Social Order", *Alternatives IV*, 1978-79 pp. 317-333.
"UNCSTD Conference Held in Vienna, "*International Studies Newsletter 6*, 6, December 1979.

**Apr. 24 Projects due, presentations**
Lecture: "MCNs for World Community", Paul Stefanik, Mobil Oil.

**May 1**
Brown, Ch. 10, "The Inevitable Accommodation".
Brown, Ch. 11, "The Elements of Accommodation."
Brown, Ch. 12, "The Means of Accommodation."

**May 6**
Mische, Ch. 9, "On Conceiving a New World Order."
Mische, Ch. 10, "Strategies for a Just World Order, Part I: Multi-Issue-Coalitions."
Mische, Ch. 11, "Strategies for a Just World Order, Part II: Network Programming."
Mische, Ch. 12, "World Order and Authentic Religion."
Mische, Ch. 13, "The Birth of a New Era."

# Politics of Peaceful World Change

**Robert B. Charlick** Fall 1978
PSC 327 / Department of Political Science / Cleveland State University / Cleveland, OH 44115

## COURSE OBJECTIVES

1. To examine the present and future international *system as a set of interrelated global problems* of utmost importance to the survival of biological man, his ecology and his values.

2. Help students *clarify* their own *normative orientations* toward solving problems and preferences for outcomes; ie. what kind of world do you really want to live in? How ought you to decide what it should be like?

3. To help the student develop in-depth *competence* in the dynamics of *one global problem area.*

4. To address the future of this *problem as a set of ranked* (preferred) *policy alternatives.* To make the issue very concrete for you in terms of options and their consequences.

5. To understand the present and potential *mechanisms for resolving the global problem* in a peaceful manner, such as world government, functionalism, regionalism and non-governmental transnational movements.

6. To examine *paths toward the future state* which might be peacefully pursued, *and* to suggest *personal first steps* along those paths.

## COURSE OBLIGATIONS

This is a combination *lecture, discussion* and *laboratory* class. Students are required to participate in all three portions.

Laboratory credit (1 hour) is given for participation in the value survey research being conducted in this class. Students must complete all survey instruments in a timely and serious fashion. A full explanation will be given of the laboratory work, and every effort will be made to assure its relevance to the classroom learning experience.

There will be two hours of lecture per week in this class. Students are expected to attend these lectures and to prepare for them by doing the appropriate reading outlined on the syllabus.

*Discussion:* The class will be organized into discussion sections. These will meet for 40 minutes on Friday. Discussion groups will either have a topic to discuss, or will have a written exercise to perform based on group interaction.

*Course grades* will be determined based on the following:

Lecture component—Midterm exam .25 + Final Exam .25

Discussion component—Written exercise grades + participation in discussion group .25

Laboratory—.25 A will be assigned for all students satisfactorily participating in lab work, i.e., completing all survey forms in a timely manner.

## COURSE READING

Falk, Richard A. *This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival.* (New York: Random House, 1972).

George, Susan. *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reason for World Hunger.* (NJ: Allanheld Osmun, 1977).

Lappe and Collins. *Food First. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).*

Mendlovitz, Saul H. *On the Creation of a Just World Order.* (New York: Free Press, 1975).

## COURSE TOPICS AND READINGS

### I. An Introduction to Global Problems, and to Global Problem Solving

A. "An Introduction to the Endangered Planet Mentality—Session 1.
  Falk, Ch. 1, "An Endangered Planet." pp. 1-20.
  Falk, Ch. 2, "The Ecological Imperative." pp. 21-36.

B. The Limits of Growth—The Future as a Projection of Present Trends—Session 2.
  Graphic Presentation.
  Falk, Ch. IX, "Two Images of the Future." pp. 415-36.
    Optional:
    Meadows and Meadows. *Limits to Growth.* (New York: New American Library).
    Cole, H.S.D. *Models of Doom: A Critique of the Limits to Growth.* (New York: Universe, 1973).
    Kahn, H., et al. *The Next 200 Years.* (New York: Morrow, 1976).

C. Problems of World Order—Globality and Interdependence
Session 3: Underlying Causes
  Falk, Ch. III, "Underlying Causes of Planetary Danger." pp. 37-92.
  Falk, Ch. V, "World Order Today: The Quest for Stability." pp. 247-255.
Sessions 4 & 5: Four Interrelated Crises: The War System, Population, Resource Scarcity and Environmental Overload.
  Exercise on Interdependence in Discussion Session.

D. Problems Solving: A World Order Perspective
Session 6: A Policy Model
Session 7: Preferences Guided by Values
  Falk, Ch. VI "Informing Values and Goals." pp. 292-312.
  Sakamato, in Mendlovitz, "Toward Global Identity." pp. 189-210.
  Falk, in Mendlovitz, "Toward a New World Order: Modest Methods and Drastic Visions." pp. 211-222.
  Lin, in Mendlovitz, "Development Guided by Values: Comments on China's Road and Its Applications." pp. 259-296.
  von Weizsacker, in Mendlovitz, "A Sceptical Contribution." pp. 111-50.
  Kothari, in Mendlovitz, "World Politics and World Order: The Issue of Autonomy." pp. 48-50.
Session 8: World-Order Identity, Ethics, Community and Consensus.
  Mazrui, in Mendlovitz, "World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus." pp. 1-38.
  Exercise in Problems Analysis (in discussion groups, and written assignments.)

### II. Hunger As A World Order Problem

A. Scarcity? Real or Imagined.
  George, Ch. 1, "Rich Man, Poor Man: Who's the Thief?" pp. 3-30.
  George, Ch. 2, "The Population Myth." pp. 31-45.
  George, Ch. 6, "Planned Scarcity." pp. 113-31.

B. Maldistribution
  George, Chs. 1,2,3.

C. Underlying Causes of Underproduction
  George, Appendix, Agricultural Inputs: Land, Water, Fertilizer, Pesticides, Farm Mechanization Research. pp. 265-285.

D. Underlying Causes of Underconsumption

E. Production as a Solution: the Green Revolution
    George, Ch. 4, "Technology: Now Who Pays to Do **What to** Whom?"

F. International Development as a Solution (Trade, Investment)
    George, Ch. 7, "There's No Business Like Agribusiness."
    George, Ch. 9, "Et Tu, UN"

G. Food AID as a Stopgap
    George, Ch. 8, "Food Aid?...or Weapon?"

H. The Ethics of Food AID: A World Order Exploration
    Exercise: Values, facts and personal decisions on food aid.
    Midterm Examination

**III. The Politics of World Order**

A. The Westphalia Nation-State System
    Falk, Ch. V, pp. 215-30.
    Falk, Ch. VI, "Beyond Deterence: The Quest for World Peace." pp. 257-62.
    Falk, Ch. VII, pp. 327-9.
    Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp.227-29.

B. The Concert System (Five Power System)
    Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 227-29.
    Claude (optional). *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organizations*, 4th Ed. (New York: Random House, 1971).

C. Pre-mature World Governments in the Nation-State Era
    1. The League of Nations
        Claude: Ch. 3 "The Establishment of the League of Nations."

    2. The United Nations
        Falk, Ch. V, pp. 230-46.
        Falk, Ch. VII., "Designing a New World Order System." pp. 315-20.
        Claude, Ch. 4, "The Origins of the United Nations System."

D. Functionalism
    Falk, Ch. VII, pp. 320-327.
    Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 234-236.
    Claude, Ch. 17, "World Government and World Order."

E. Regionalism
    Falk, Ch. VII, pp. 334-340.
    Mazrui, in Mendlovitz, pp. 20-37.
    Kothari, in Mendlovitz, pp. 51-57.
    Lagos, in Mendlovitz, "The Revolution of Being." pp. 103-7.
    Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 229-31.
    Claude, Ch. 6, "The Problem of Regionalism."

F. Transnational Actors
    Falk, Ch. VII, pp. 329-33.
    Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 231-235.
    Sakamoto, in Mendlovitz, "Toward a Global Identity", pp. 198-200.
    Galtung, in Mendlovitz,"Nonterritorial Actors and the Problem of Peace", pp. 151-188.

G. Utopian Solutions
    1. Denationalism: Falk, pp. 340-352, "National Reform."
    2. World Federalism: Lagos, in Mendlovitz, pp. 71-109.
    3. Unitary World Government: Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 237-9.
    von Weizsacher in Mendlovitz, pp. 118-120.
    Claude, Ch. 18, "International Organization and World Order."

H. Designing a "Just World Order"
  Falk, Ch. VI, pp. 262-93.
  Falk, Ch. VII, pp. 321-52.
  Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 217-241.
  Kothari in Mendlovitz, pp. 51-69.
  Claude, Ch. 19, "Developments in International Organization."

**IV. Paths to Peaceful World Change: Toward a Future with Hope**

A. General Considerations
  Falk, Ch. IX, pp. 431-445.

B. Consciousness Raising
  Falk, Ch. VIII, "World Order Activism: First Steps." pp. 356-8.
  Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 248-250.

C. Alternative Education for Global Survival
  Falk, Ch. VIII, "The Establishment of Survival Universities or Colleges of World Ecology." pp. 358-62.
  Kothari in Mendlovitz, pp. 68-60.
  Falk, in Mendlovitz, pp. 248-249.

D. Transnational Political Movements
  Falk, Ch. VIII, "World Political Party." pp. 362-65.
  Kothari, in Mendlovitz, pp. 64-68.

E. Clandestine and Cataclysmic Movements
  Falk, VIII, "Wagar's Ark of Renewal." pp. 365-66.

F. Issue oriented movements (Population, environmental protection, demilitarization)
  Falk, Ch. VIII, "Counter the War System: Some First Steps." pp. 367-398.

# Global Problems and Human Survival

**Ronald Glossop, Rasool Hashimi, and Ernst Schusky** Spring 1980
General Interdisciplinary Studies / Southern Illinois University / Edwardsville, IL 62025

The objective of this course is to assist students in understanding the problems presently facing the human race and in evaluating proposals for solving these problems.

### REQUIRED TEXTS

Lester Brown, *The Twenty-Ninth Day* (NY: Norton, 1978).
Kenneth Boulding, *The Meaning of the 20th Century* (NY: Harper, 1965).
Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *Food First* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

### COURSE SCHEDULE

Mar. 25 Introduction to Course
"Time of Man"
Mar. 27 Historical Background; Social Science and the Present Situation
Boulding, Chs 1-3; Brown, Ch. 1.
Apr. 1 Ecological Stresses
Brown, Chs. 2-3.
Apr. 3 The Population Problem
Brown, Ch. 4; Boulding, Ch. 6.
Apr. 8, 10 The Depletion of Natural and Energy Resources
Boulding, Ch. 7; Brown, Ch. 5.
Apr. 15 The Food Problem
Brown, Ch. 6; "Hunger: Triumph or Tragedy".
Apr. 17 The Third World
Brown, Chs. 7, 8; "The Widening Gap" .
Apr. 22 The Problem of Economic Development
Brown, Ch. 9; Boulding, Ch. 5.
Apr. 24 The New International Economic Order
Handout
Apr. 29 Midterm Exam
May 1, 6 Ideological Differences
Boulding, Ch. 8.
May 8 The Non-nuclear War Problem
Handout; "Who Invited Us".
May 13 The Nuclear War Problem
Boulding, Ch. 4; "The War Game".
May 15 Solving the War Problem
Boulding, Ch. 4.
May 20 The Potential of the Oceans
"The Sixth Continent": Handout.
May 22 The Need for Change
Brown, Ch. 10; "Bottle Babies".
May 27 What Can Be Done?
Brown, Chs. 11, 12; Boulding, Ch. 9.
May 28 Review

# Politics of International Interdependence

**Carolyn Stephenson** Spring 1980
Political Science 319 / Colgate University / Hamilton, NY 13346

The concept of "interdependence" has two meanings as used in this class. First, there is economic and political interdependence between nations in the global system, an interdependence which is based partly on resource needs and partly on the impact of communications technology on international politics and economics. Second, there is interdependence of ecological systems, with the result that food, energy and environmental policies have interactive impacts on each other.

> The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
> Little we see in Nature that is ours;
> We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
> The Sea that bares her bosom to the moon;
> The winds that will be howling at all hours,
> And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers;
> For this, for everything, we are out of tune. .
> *William Wordsworth*

## MATERIALS FOR THE COURSE

Odell, Peter R. *Oil and World Power.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979).
Ophuls, William. *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity.* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1977).
Pirages, Dennis. *Global Ecopolitics.* (N. Scituate, MA: Duxbury, 1978).
Rustow, Dankwart A. and Mugnu, John F. *OPEC: Success and Prospects.* (New York: NYU Press, 1976)
Spero, Joan. *The Politics of International Economic Relations.* (New York: St. Martins, 1977).

> There are two ways to slice easily through life;
> to believe everything or to doubt everything.
> Both ways save us from thinking.
> *Alfred Korzvoski*

## REQUIREMENTS

The subject of this course is one which requires thinking at many levels and across several disciplines. International ecopolitics requires thinking in terms of both foreign policy and international politics (sub-systematically and systematically). It requires knowledge of international trade as well as the second law of thermodynamics, food chains and democratic theory. The underlying Bias of the instructor (being a political scientist) is that politics can synthesize all of these. I hope that you will argue that, as well as virtually everything else in the class with her. This means that you will need to be prepared to do so. There are no right and wrong answers in this field—there are data, there are theories, and there are strong opinions. You may start with strong opinions; by the end of the class I hope that you will have your own theories based on a recognition of your own values, and on the data. To this effect, class participation, including either a short essay or presentation, will be weighted 20%.

There will be a research paper of approximately 20-25 typed pages on 1) the international economic and ecological interdependence of a particular nation in the global system, or 2) a particular problem, conflict, crisis, conference or solution of your choice in this area. The topic is to be approved after consultation with the instructor and handed in by February 28. There will be a library research session on March 20 to aid you in problems you may have by that time. By March 25, a preliminary outline and bibliography is due. The final paper is due May 1. (25%).

There will be a midterm (25%) and a final exam (30%).

> ... a sound man is good at salvage,
> at seeing that nothing is lost.
>
> *Lao Tzu*

## COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

**I. Introduction**

Feb. 1 Administrivia

Feb. 5 Ecology and Ecopolitics

Ophuls. Introduction, Ch. 1, "The Science of Ecology; Pirages. Ch. 1, "The Origins of Ecopolitics."

Recommended:

Boulding, Kenneth, "The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth", in Daly, Herman E., *Toward A Steady-State Economy* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1973), pp. 121-132.

**II. Economic Interdependence**

Feb. 7 Interdependence

Spero. Ch. 1, "The Management of International Economic Relations Since World War II."

Feb. 12 The Monetary System

Spero, Ch. 2, "International Monetary Management."

Feb. 14 Trade

Spero, Ch. 3, "International Trade and Domestic Politics."

Spero, Ch. 7, "Trade Strategy."

Feb. 19 MNC's

Spero, Ch. 4, "The Multinational Corporation and the Absence of Management."

Spero, Ch. 8, "Managing the Multinational Corporation."

Feb. 21 Development and Foreign Aid

Spero. Ch. 6, "The Use of Aid."

Dahlberg, Kenneth, "Ecological Effects of Current Development Processes in Less Developed Countries", in Emmel, Thomas C. (ed.), *Global Perspectives on Ecology* (Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Pubs, 1977).

Feb. 26 International Economics and International Organization

Pirages, Ch. 2, "The Ecopolitical Agenda."

Declaration on the NIEO, Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

Feb. 28 International Economic Relations: Conclusion

Paper Topic Due

Spero, Ch. 9, "Oil and Cartel Power."

Spero, Ch. 10, "East-West Economic Relations."

**III. Ecological Interdependence**

Mar. 4 Limits to Growth: Food

Ophuls, Ch. 2, "Population, Food, Mineral Resources and Pollutions."

Pirages, Ch. 3, "The Politics of Food."

Recommended:

Meadows et al: *The Limits to Growth.* (York: Universe Books, 1974).

Mesarovic and Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point.* (New York: New American Library, 1976).

Mar. 6 Limits to Growth: Energy

Ophuls, Ch. 3, "Energy, the Management of Technology and an Overview of Ecological Scarcity."

Pirages, Ch. 3, "Global Energy Politics."

Walton, Keith J, "A Survey of International Energy Institutions and Policy Mechanism", in Saltzman, Stephen A. (ed.) *Energy Technology and Global Policy.* (Santa Barbara, CA: American Bibliographical Center-Clio Press, 1977), pp. 127-170.

Recommended:

Schumacher, E.F. *Small is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

Mar. 11 The Tragedy of the Commons

Ophuls, Ch. 4, "The Politics of Scarcity."

Hardin, Garrett, "The Tragedy of the Commons", in Daly, *op. cit.*

Mar. 13 The Politics of Scarcity in America

Ophuls, Ch. 5, "The American Political Economy I: Ecology Plus Economics Equals Politics."

Ophuls, Ch. 6, "The American Political Economy II: The Non-Politics of Laissez-Faire."

Mar. 18 Midterm Exam

Mar. 20 Library Research methods session

### IV. Interdependence and Dependence

Mar. 25 Dependence and Structural Violence

Spero, Ch. 5, "The North-South System and the Possibility of Change."

Galtung, Johan, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", *Journal of Peace Research,* 2, 1971, pp. 81-118.

Outline and Preliminary Bibliography Due

Mar. 27 Sharing the World's Resources

Choucri, Nazli, "Population, Resources and Technology: Political Implications of the Environmental Crisis", in Kay, David and Skolnikoff, Eugene B. (eds), World Eco-Crisis. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979). Also, *International Organization,* Spring 1972).

### V. Oil: A Case Study

Apr. 8 Energy and Oil

Odell, Ch. 1, "Introduction: The World's Oil Industry."

Lovins, Amory B., "Energy Strategy: The Road Not Taken?" *Foreign Affairs,* October, 1976.

Apr. 10 Oil: The U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Odell, Ch. 2, "The U.S.A. and World Oil."

Odell, Ch. 3, "Soviet Oil Development."

Apr. 15 OPEC

Odell, Ch. 4, "The Major Oil-Exporting Countries."

Apr. 17 OPEC

Rustow, all.

Apr. 22 Oil, Scarcity and International Politics

Ophuls, Ch. 7, "Ecological Scarcity and International Politics."

Odell, Ch. 5, Oil Policies in Western Europe."

Odell, Ch. 6, "Japan: The World's Biggest Oil Importer."

Apr. 24 Oil: The North and the South
    Odell, Ch. 7, "Dependence on Oil in the Developing World."
    Odell, Ch. 8, "Oil in International Relations and World Economic Development."
Apr. 29 Cartels and Other Strategies
    Pirages, Ch. 5, "Nonfuel Minerals: The New Cartels?"
    Knorr, Klaus, "The Limits of Economic and Military Power", Vernon, Raymond (ed.), *The Oil Crisis (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 229-44.*

**VI. Politics: Who Gets What, When and HOW?**

May 1 Ecological Politics
    Pirages, Ch. 6, "Technology and Ecopolitics."
    Pirages, Ch. 7, "Ecopolitics and Development."
        Recommended:
        Daly, Herman E., "The Steady-State Economy", in Daly, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-74.
May 6 Conclusion
    Pirages, Ch. 8, "Toward a Global Perspective: Some First Steps."
    Ophuls, Ch. 8, "Toward a Politics of the Steady State."
        Recommended:
        Johnson, Warren. *Muddling Through Frugality.* (Boulder, CO: Shambhala Publications, 1979).
        D'Arge and Kneese, "Environmental Quality and Trade", in Kay and Skolnikoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-301.

# American Foreign Policy

**Dennis Gordon** Winter 1980
Political Science 128 / Univerity of Santa Clara / Santa Clara, CA 95053

Since World War II, the United States has faced numerous political and moral dilemmas over its role as the world's most powerful nation. After a brief look at how foreign policy is made in the U.S., this course will trace the evolution of American foreign policy from the beginnings of the Cold War through the catastrophe of Vietnam to the uncertainties of today's interdependent world. Of particular importance will be an examination of why the United States is viewed as a symbol of hope by some peoples and as a source of violent opposition to change by others.

## ASSIGNMENTS

The course consists of readings, lecture, and class discussion. There will be a midterm exam at the end of Part I and a final. In addition, students will complete a short research project, essay or class presentation. The course grade is based on the following: midterm 30%, research project 30%, final exam 40%.

## REQUIRED TEXTS

Robert Johansen, *The National Interest and the Human Interest: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979).
Kenneth A. Oye, Donald Rothchild and Robert J. Lieber, eds., *Eagle Entangled: U.S. Foreign Policy in a Complex World* (NY: Longman, 1979).
John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, 7th ed. (NY: Praeger, 1977).

## PART I—OVERVIEW OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1945

### A. Sources of U.S. Foreign Policy

*Readings*
Thomas Englehardt, "Ambush at Kamikase Pass", in Steven Spiegel, *At Issue.*
Kenneth A. Oye, et al., *Eagle Entangled*, Chs. 1, 2.
John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*. Ch. 1.
David Halberstam, "The Programming of Robert McNamara", in Peter Woll, *Behind the Scenes in American Government* or David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*, Ch. 12.

### B. The Cold War and the Bipolar World

*Readings*
John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*. Chs. 2-8.

## PART II—CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

### A. Area Problems

*Readings*
John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*. Chs. 9, 10.
Kenneth A. Oye, et al., *Eagle Entangled*, Chs. 7-12.

**B. "New Issues" in U.S. Foreign Policy:** Trade and Monetary Policies, Arms Control, Human Rights

*Readings*

Kenneth A. Oye, et al., *Eagle Entangled*, Chs. 3-6.

Robert Johansen, *The National Interest and the Human Interest*, entire.

Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, Chs. 1, 2.

# B

# Alternative World Order

Planning Alternative World Futures
Harvey Starr

Models of Preferred World Order
Gustavo Lagos

Issues in International Relations: Alternative World Futures
Gary Brey

On The Seriousness of the Future
W. Basil McDermott

The Literature of Future Studies and Policy Studies
Michael Marien

# Planning Alternative World Futures

**Harvey Starr** Spring 1980
Political Science Y200 / Contemporary Political Problems / Indiana University / Bloomington, IN 47401

In the words of one scholar we live on an "endangered planet." A variety of problems threaten the well-being, and indeed, the very existence of man on this earth. Today the possibility exists that the survival capacity of man and the earth are threatened by intolerable stresses placed on planetary resources by expanding population. Together with the threat of nuclear war, other varieties of international conflict, resource shortages, and environmental spoilage—we are faced with dangers which cannot be ignored. What can be done? What must be done to cope with the various problems we face today? While there are many ways to begin to answer these questions, the general orientation of these answers is the same. Each recognizes that the present world system is only one case in an unbelievable variety of possible world systems, and that we must begin to consider a broad range of alternatives. To study about world order is to study about alternative world futures.

Accordingly, this course is based upon the following premises:

a) The present international system is not conducive to either the long range survival of humanity or the shorter range survival of particular regions.

b) It is possible to design alternative world systems that are both conceivable and feasible.

c) There is the time to design and implement such alternative world futures.

The course is organized so as to meet the following learning objectives. Students will come to understand the nature of past international relations, the concept of "system," and the present international system. Next, they will come to understand the global problems related to international interdependencies, nuclear weapons/international conflict, and limits to growth (population, food, pollution, resource depletion). The next objective will be to become familiar with the problems and methods of designing alternative world futures. This will include investigating the goals and values around which such alternatives will be based; processes of forecasting, including the use of science fiction; reviewing past and present visions of alternative futures including utopian and integration variations; and the identification and evaluation of several proposed plans for future alternatives. Finally, students will be able to develop their own proposals for a preferred alternative world future (the major course project).

## STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES

Student responsibilities will consist of three items:

1) a short paper on the first simulation exercise, due on February 6; this is worth 25% of the grade

2) a take home essay exam to be handed out on March 5, and due on March 12, comprising 35% of the grade

3) the primary course project, "Designing an Alternative World Future", due on April 28, and counting 40% of the course grade.

## READING

Books required for purchase are (all paperback):

Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, *Constructive Alternative World Futures: Reordering the Planet* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1977).
Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* (NY: Free Press, 1975).
M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point* (NY: Signet, 1976).
Dennis Pirages, *Global Ecopolitics* (Belmont, CA: Duxbury, 1978).

Recommended for purchase:
Edward Cornish, *The Study of the Future* (Washington, DC: World Futures Society).
Harry M. Greenberg and Joseph Olander, eds., *International Relations Through Science Fiction* (NY: New Viewpoints, 1978).

All of the reading listed on the syllabus is *required* reading. Students wishing to pursue any topic in more detail should speak to the instructor. Students should also carefully review the citations and bibliographies in the required readings. In addition, three useful bibliographic items have been placed on Reserve in the Main Library:

Dennis Livingston, *A Bibliography of Positive Alternative Futures*
Michael Washburn and Paul Wehr, *Peace and World Order Systems* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976).
Robert Riggs, *World Order Studies Project Curriculum Package*

## COURSE SCHEDULE

Organizational Meeting (Jan. 14)
Introduction: Some New Perspectives (Jan. 16)

### I. ALTERNATIVES TO WHAT?

**1. The Nature of International Relations and the International System** (Jan. 21-30)

Reading:
Falk, "Prescript", pp. 56-72, 80-86.
Beres and Targ, Ch. 8, "A Methodology of World Order: Joining Humanism and Science."
Cornish, Ch. 2 "The Terrors of Tomorrow: Realities and Bugaboos."
Greenberg and Olander, pp. 1-30 (stories by Williams; Clarke); pp. 114-140 (stories by Gunn; Garrett).

Also try to read at least one of the following items:
Frederick Hartmann, *The Relations of Nations*, 4th ed. (NY: Macmillan, 1957), Ch. 1.
Padelford and Lincoln, *The Dynamics of International Politics* (NY: Macmillan, 1976), Ch. 1.
H. Butterfield and M. Wight, *Diplomatic Investigations* (essays) (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966), article by H. Bull.
(Jan. 23: "REALPOLITIK"—Modified State System Exercise Simulation)

**2. Global Problems and Interdependencies**

a) Transnational Relations and International Interdependencies (Feb. 4-6)
Reading:
Pirages, Chs. 1, 2, 6.
Mesarovic and Pestel, Chs. 1, 2, 3.
Corning, Ch. 1, "An Age of Convulsive Change."

Also look at:
Falk, pp. 72-80.
Greenberg and Olander, pp. 102-113 (story by Pierce).

b) International Conflict and Nuclear Weapons (Feb. 11-20)
Reading:
Falk, pp. 96-103.
Glenn H. Snyder, "The Balance of Terror"
William R. Kintner, "The Nuclear Thrust: From Alamogordo to Cuba."
Greenberg and Olander, pp. 28-101 (stories by Herbert; Ecklund; Trembly; Purdom; Anvil).
Greenberg and Olander, pp. 161-167 (story by Bova and Lewis).
(Feb. 11—film, "War Game")
(Feb. 13—filmstrip, "The Age of Megaton")

c) Limits to Growth (Feb. 25 - Mar. 5)
Reading:
Mesarovic and Pestel (all)
Pirages, Chs. 3, 4, 5, 7 (review Ch. 2).
Falk, pp. 86-96; 103-141.
    Also look at:
    Greenberg and Olander, pp. 141-160 (story by Walling).
(Feb. 25—film, "What Are We Doing to our World?)

d) World Order Simulation (Beres Game) (Mar. 10-19).

## II. SEARCHING FOR ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURES

1. **Designing World Futures: Criteria, Processes, Problems**
a) What to Design: Aims, Goals, Values (Mar. 31-Apr. 2)
Reading:
Falk, Ch. 1, "Points of Departure."
Beres and Targ, Chs. 2, 3. Ch. 2, "Political Design" Ch. 3, "Reordering the Planet: The Four Phases of World Order Design"
Pirages, Ch. 8.
    Also look at:
    Cornish, Ch. 3, "The Shape of Things to Come".
    Greenberg and Olander, pp. 168-186 (story by Anderson)

b) How to Design? Forecasting, Science Fiction, The Study of the Future (Apr. 7-14)
Reading:
Falk, Ch. 3, "Designing a New World Order"
Beres and Targ, Chs. 1, 9, 10, 11.
Cornish, Chs. 4, 6, 7, 8, 12.
    Also look at:
    Greenberg and Olander, "Introduction"
    Dennis Livingston, "Science Fiction as an Educational Tool"

2. **Past Visions of Alternative Futures**
a) Utopian Variations (Apr. 16)
Reading:
Beres and Targ, Ch. 4, "Outline for a Normative Forecasting/Planning Process."
Cornish, Ch. 13, "A World of Utopias."

b) Integration Variations (Apr. 21)
Reading:
Beres and Targ, Chs. 5, 6, 7. Ch. 5, "Transitions to Preferred World Futures: Some Design Considerations." Ch. 6, "Constructing Models of Presents, Futures and Transitions: An Approach to Alternative World Futures." Ch. 7, "The Study of Peace & Justice: Toward a Framework for Global Discussion."

**3. Alternative World Futures Identification, Evaluation, Transition (Apr. 23 30)**
Reading:
Cornish, Chs. 9, 10. Ch. 9, "Futurists and Their Ideas." Ch. 10, "Futuristics in Practice (with Case Histories)."
Review:
Falk, Chs. 3, 4, 5 (read 6, 7).
Beres and Targ, Chs. 9, 10, 11.
Mesarovic and Pestel, Ch. 11

## COURSE PAPERS

### I. STATE SYSTEM EXERCISE PAPER

This paper will be based on the experiences encountered during the State System Exercise simulation (to be run on Jan. 23). The paper should be approximately 3-5 doublespaced typed pages.

This paper will be a brief essay describing the ways in which this simulation accurately reflects the nature of international relations as presented in lecture and course readings, and the ways in which it differs from international relations as presented in Y200. Particular attention should be paid to the role of power in the simulation and in international relations in general. How is power exercised? How is power managed?

### II. MIDTERM TAKE-HOME ESSAY EXAMINATION

This exam will be handed out on March 5, and will be due in class on March 12. It is to be an open book examination, students are permitted to use any resource *except* each other, there is to be no collaboration!

### III. COURSE PROJECT: DESIGNING AN ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURE

The culmination of this course is to develop your own view of an alternative world future, following the outline of sections presented below. (These sections are derived in large part from similar exercises developed by Dennis Livingston, and by Louis Rene Beres.)

**A. Value Clarification**

To talk of a "preferred" alternative world immediately connotes value choices, the necessity to specify what values ought to be maximized, etc. The sources of these values are the student's beliefs, and experiences, including the material covered in this course. Values are uniquely personal, so you must think carefully about those things which concern you most in a new world order system, in order for you to state these values. The worth and desirability of your alternative future can only be judged against the values you present.

**B. Design Construction**

The issue you will be facing in this project is what you feel *should* be, not what will probably be. The student is to provide a description of an alternative future, between feasibility and desirability, without allowing the former to totally obscure the latter. This section will have three parts.

*1. Design Hypothesis*—Beres and Targ emphasize the necessity of making explicit the assumptions, premises, and basic principles on which the design is based by stating a hypothesis relating certain institutional and/or behavioral changes to the consequences favorable to the values stated earlier. In this section you should set out as hypotheses what changes in what independent variables will bring about what changes in the target values (the dependent variables).

*2. Design Questions*—What are the major problems and questions that arise from your hypotheses, concerning the system you are proposing, or that must be answered for the design to continue?

*3. The Model*– This is *the heart* of your paper: an image of an alternative world future. Exactly what goes into the model of the future is up to you, with many of the items that could be included illustrated in the course readings. You should, however, discuss the kinds of actors or social units involved, what sorts of functions they have, and the relationships that are to exist among them.

**C. Transition Scenario**
Your vision is made "real" by linking it with the present. This scenario is a short narrative ("science fiction") which describes the major steps, turning points, and significant processes that lead us from the present world situation to the world described in subsection 3, "The Model". You should probably include an idea of what indicators might be suitable for measuring progress in the transition from the present world to the alternative one (progress, or lack of progress). In other words, how might we know if the proposed future is becoming a reality?

**D. Design Evaluation**
Here you will present an assessment of the quality of the design: is the model actually desirable? does it create a world which realizes the values you began with? what is the probability and/or feasibility of the transition process discussed in "C.", which would lead to the proposed future?

If so desired, you may also use any other media in the development of this project (tapes, drawing, painting, film, photography, poetry, sculpture, etc., etc.).

## OPTIONAL PAPERS

### I. Bloomington in the World/The World in Bloomington
One important aspect of this course is the recognition of global interdependencies and interactions. "International relations" or the "international system" are not usually thought of as being important to individuals in the United States. However, there are multiple connections, relationships, interactions, and interdependencies between even Bloomington and the rest of the world. What are these connections? How do they affect our lives? How do they make Bloomington part of the global system? This optional paper will attempt to answer some of these (or similar) questions.

### II. An Alternative Fictional World Critique
Many pieces of fiction, especially science fiction and"utopian" fiction, have created societies or worlds much different from the contemporary world. Given the material in this course on values, aspects and problems of designing alternative futures, etc., you may write an essay critiquing one of these works of fiction. Your critique should be an analysis of the fictional society/world, appraising its strong points and weak points in light of the material covered in Y200.

### III. Science Fiction as an Educational Tool
In section II. 1. b), an article by Dennis Livingston,"Science Fiction as an Educational Tool," is assigned. This paper will consist of an in-depth analysis of the points Livingston makes in this article, using the stories found in Greenberg and Olander as examples, evidence, and illustrative material. You may argue either in support of Livingston's points about the educational potential of science fiction, or against them. You should try to draw upon as many of the stories in the Greenberg and Olander volume as possible.

# Models of Preferred World Order

**Gustavo Lagos** Spring 1980
Graduate Seminar in International Relations / University of Denver / Denver, CO 80208

This seminar will analyze models of preferred world order for the 1990's, one among various contending approaches to world order. The seminar starts with three sessions dedicated to a general discussion of trends in world politics and world society, as a means of providing general perspectives and analytical tools used in a variety of ways during the course. Three specific models (the Latin American, the African and the American) will be studied from week four through week nine. Week ten is dedicated to a general evaluation of this type of study.

All students will be required to complete readings for each seminar session. The seminar will rely substantially on the participation of students in general discussions throughout the quarter. Therefore class participation will be a very important element in course grades. There will be a single "take-home" final examination at the end of the quarter which will test the student's understanding of the required readings as well as his/her analytical capacity to integrate the different materials read for the course.

### WEEK ONE, WEEK TWO & WEEK THREE:

**Trends in World Politics and World Society**

1. Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (NY: The Free Press, 1975).
2. Jan Tinbergen, ed., R.I.O.: *Reshaping the International Order. A Report to the Club of Rome* (NY: E. P. Dutton, 1976). Chs. 1-7.
3. Robert C. Johansen, "A Global Humanist Critique of National Policies for Arms Control" *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 1977).
4. Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* (NY: The Free Press, 1975), Ch. 2, pp. 56-149.
5. Richard A. Falk, *This Endangered Planet* (NY: Random House, 1971), Ch. 3.
6. Gustavo Lagos, *International Stratification and Underdeveloped Countries* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), Ch. 1.
7. Gustavo Lagos, *The World Situation on the Threshold of the Third Millenium* (Institute of International Studies, The University of Chile, 1978).
8. Stanley Hoffmann, *Primacy or World Order* (NY: McGraw Hill Co., 1978), Chs. 3, 4.

### WEEK FOUR & WEEK FIVE:

**A Model of Preferred World Order: A Latin American Approach**

1. Gustavo Lagos, "The Revolution of Being" in Saul H. Mendlovitz, *On the Creation of a Just World Order.*
2. Gustavo Lagos and Horacio Godoy, *Revolution of Being: A Latin American View of the Future* (NY: The Free Press, 1977).
3. Ralf Dahrendorf, *Essays in the Theory of Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968) ("Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis").
4. Gerald and Patricia Mische, *Toward A Human World Order* (NY: Paulist Press, 1977), Chs. 1, 2, 3, 7.

5. Yoshikazu Sakamoto "Toward A Global Identity" in Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order.*

### WEEK SIX AND WEEK SEVEN:

**A Model of Preferred World Order: An African Approach**

1. Ali A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures* (NY: The Free Press, 1976).
2. Ali A. Mazrui, "World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus" in Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order.*
3. Margaret Mead, *Culture and Commitment. A Study of the Generation Gap* (NY: Doubleday, 1970).
4. Kenneth E. Boulding, "National Images and International Systems" in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. III, 1959.

### WEEK EIGHT AND WEEK NINE:

**A Model of Preferred World Order: An American Approach**

1. Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds.*
2. Richard A. Falk, "Toward a New World Order. Modest Methods and Drastic Visions" in Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order.*
3. Richard A. Falk, *This Endangered Planet* (NY: Random House, 1971), Ch. 9.
4. Stanley Hoffmann, *Primacy or World Order.* Chs. 5, 6

### WEEK TEN:

**Preferred Worlds for the 1990's: A General Discussion**

1. Harold Laswell, "The Promise of the World Order Modelling Movement" in *World Politics,* April 1977.
2. Kenneth E. Boulding, "On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's: A review in *Journal of Economic Issues,* September 1976.
3. Tom J. Farer, "The Greening of the Globe: A Preliminary Appraisal of the World Order Model Project" in *International Organization,* Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 1977).
4. Richard A. Falk, "The World Order Models Project and its Critics: A Reply" in *International Organization,* Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 1978).
5. Richard A. Falk, "Contending Approaches to World Order" in *Journal of International Affairs,* Vol. 31, No. 2 Fall/Winter 1977.
6. David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science" in *American Political Science Review,* LXIII, December 1969.
7. Heraldo Munoz, Rajni Kothari's "Footsteps into the Future" and *The Normative Approach to the Study of International Relations* (Mimeographed form).

### SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS:

John Galtung, *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective* (NY: The Free Press, 1980).

Robert L. Heilbroner, *An Inquiry Into the Human Prospect* (NY: W. W. Norton, 1974).

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative* (NY: The Free Press, 1974).

Ervin Laszlo, et al, ed., *Goals of Mankind. A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of Global Community* (NY: E. P. Dutton, 1977).

Ervin Laszlo, *Norms for the Future: An Application of Systems Philosphy to the Study of World Order* (NY: Brazillier, 1974).

Warren W. Wagar, *The City of Man* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963).

Maurice A. East, "Status Discrepancy and Violence in the International System: An Empirical Analysis" in James N. Rosenau, Vincent Davis and Maurice A. East, *The Analysis of International Politics* (NY: The Free Press, 1972).

# Issues in International Relations: Alternative World Futures

**Gary Brey** Spring 1980
International Relations / University of South Florida / Tampa, FL 33620

## TEXTS

Richard Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds.* (NY: Free Press, 1975).
Louis Beres and H. Targ, *Constructing Alternative World Futures* (Cambridge, MA.: Schenkman Publishing, 1977).
Dennis Pirages, *The New Context for International Relations: Global Ecopolitics* (Scituate, MA.: Duxbury Press, 1978).
Wassily Leontief, et al., *The Future of the World Economy* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1977).
Seyom Brown, *New Forces in World Politics* (Washington D.C.: Brookings, 1974).
Robert Angell, *The Quest for World Order* (Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

Since 1945 the structure and context of international politics have changed markedly. The international system has moved from a tight bi-polar system with the nation-state dominant to a multipolar system with the nation-state competing with an increasing number of non-state actors. This change is reflected in the topics to which international relations scholars address themselves. With the introduction of *Limits to Growth* arguments and the impact of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, there has been some shift in focus from the analysis of security and power politics problems to more emphasis on other areas of international politics such as political economy, population growth, materials shortages and technology transfers. There is a rapidly expanding literature, produced by international relations scholars, dealing with economic aspects of international relations, the impact of technology, the analysis of neo-Malthusian arguments, and transnationalism. This body of literature reflects an increased awareness of a whole range of issue-areas in international politics.

The changing nature of the international system has also led to a renewed concern with the future structure of the system. The course on Alternative World Futures will introduce the student to the subject of world future study, present some of the major literature on the subject, and address some of the critical problems and issues related to world order and alternative international systems. The course is organized into four broad segments. First, discussion of some of the background necessary to understand the contemporary international system. Second, presentation and analysis of some of the forces of change within the international system. Third, consideration of some proposals for and speculation about alternative forms for the international system. And fourth, synthesis of the course material, criticism of different models and assessment of the probability of change.

Specific topics that will be discussed in the course include: 1) the evolution of the contemporary international system; 2) limits to growth, ecopolitics, and problems and methods of forecasting and prediction; 3) forces of change in the international system, technology, economic interdependence; 4) alternative systems; models based on law, models based on international organizations, models based on integration; and 5) the World Order Models Project, comments and criticism.

Throughout the course students will be encouraged to critically assess various models and proposals and to identify values that may be implicit in the models. Also, students will be encouraged to identify their own values and analyze the consequences of holding those values.

## COURSE OBJECTIVES

Some of the capabilities developed by the course are listed below. After successfully completing the course, the student should be able to:

1. Distinguish between statements of fact and statements of values.
2. Identify values held by the student and values held by others and assess the consequences of those values.
3. Specify major methods of forecasting and prediction and problems and drawbacks associated with each.
4. Define major issues and concepts in international political economy.
5. Identify several types of models of the international system and specify their attributes.
6. Identify the major types of actors in the contemporary international system and specify the attributes of possible future actors.
7. Discuss the probable future status of specific issue-areas such as food, technology transfer or economic relations between the North and South.

## GRADING

A student's grade will be assigned on the basis of:

a. class participation and activities
b. a final exam at the end of the quarter
c. a research paper

## THE PAPER

The paper is to be an issue focused exercise in prediction or forecasting. The student is to choose an issue that has important implications for the future of the international system, such as food, transfers of resources, arms races or population and analyze the probable future status of the issue. The paper may be in one of two forms.

First, the student may take an issue and predict the status and consequences of the issue over a time span from 5 to 25 years in the future. The student must use available empirical material, facts and figures, as a starting point to describe the nature of the issue in the contemporary international system. The student is to note any interrelationships with other issues and what effects these issues have on the issue under consideration. In making predictions the student must make explicit any projection methods used or found in the literature; methods such as computer modelling, extrapolation, Delphi techniques, etc. The student is to make a prediction as to what is likely to happen based on factual material. Also the paper should contain a prescriptive section. This section deals with what should happen in the issue-area making values explicit. Then the student is to compare the prediction with the prescription again looking at values.

Second, the student may write a paper making predictions as to how alternative international systems are likely to handle a specific issue. The student must start off with a factual description of the issue as in the first form of the paper. However, the analysis concentrates on what is likely to happen with respect to the issue if different systems were to come about. For example, what would happen with respect to arms races given world federation, regional integration, or the continuation of a nation-state dominant system. Then compare with respect to values the desirability of the alternative predictions. For this form of the paper as for the first form, all predictions must be based on the scholarly literature and all values must be made explicit.

## TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

The list of topics and reading assignments is broken into the segments. Each topic will be approximately one week of class time.

**1. Course organization, fact-value problems, values and world futures.**

Required reading:
Falk, Chapter 1.
Beres and Targ, Part I.

Suggested reading:
Wm. D. Coplin, *Introduction to International Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), Ch. 1, pp. 1-18.
Kenneth Thompson, "The Empirical, Normative and Theoretical Foundations of International Studies," *Review of Politics*, Vol. 29 (April 1967), 147-159.
Ervin Laszlo, et al, *Goals for Mankind* (NY: E.P. Dutton, 1977).
Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (NY: Free Press, 1974).
Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future* (NY: Free Press, 1974).
Discussion Film: "Yesterday, Tomorrow and You." This last segment of the series *Connections: An Alternative View of Change* discusses the increasing pace of change in the world and the impact of that change on individuals and organizations.

**2. Brief review of the evolution of the contemporary international system, Westphalia to the present ways of thinking about the future.**

Required reading:
Falk, Ch. 2, pp. 56-85.
Beres and Targ, Part II.
Brown, Ch. 1.

Suggested reading:
Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1966).
Morton A. Kaplan, *System and Process in International Politics* (NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1967).
Roger D. Masters, "World Politics as a Primitive Political System," *World Politics*, Vol. 16 (July 1964), 595-619.
Richard Rosecrance, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and the Future," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 10 (September 1966), 314-327.
John H. Herz, "The Territorial State Revisited: Reflections on the Future of the Nation-State," *Polity*, Vol. 1 (1968), 12-34.
A. Somit, *Political Science and the Study of the Future* (NY: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

Discussion Film: "The Fatal Competition." Episode eight from John Kenneth Galbraith's series, The Age of Uncertainty. This segment analyzes the evolution of the arms race.

**3. Forces of Change, Limits to Growth, ecopolitics, problems and methods of forecasting and prediction.**

Required reading:
Falk, Ch. 2, cont'd, pp. 86-112.
Pirages, Chs. 1-5.
Brown, Chs. 2, 3, 4.

Suggested reading:
Donella H. Meadows, et al, *The Limits to Growth* (NY: Universe, 1974).
H. Cole, et al, *Models of Doom: A Critique of the Limits to Growth* (NY: Universe Books, 1973).
Jan Tinbergen, *Reshaping the International Order* (NY: Dutton, 1976).
W. Nordhaus, "World Dynamics Measurement Without Data," *Economic Journal* (December 1973).
Tom Whiston, ed., *The Uses and Abuses of Forecasting* (NY: McMillan Press, 1979).
Daniel Bell, "Twelve Modes of Prediction," *Daedalus* (Summer 1964), 845-880.

Discussion Film: "And Who Shall Feed This World," NBC report on world food problems comparing capital intensive agriculture in the U.S. with the agriculture of India.

**4. Forces of change; international political economy, economic development and North-South relations.**

Required reading:
Falk, Ch. 6.
Pirages, Ch. 7.
Brown, Ch. 5.
Leontief—all

Suggested reading:
R. Dan Walleri, "The Political Economy Literature on North-South Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 22 (December 1978), 587-624.
Joan Spero, *The Politics of International Economic Relations* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977).
C. F. Bergsten and L. Krause, *World Politics and International Economics* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1975).
David Blake and R. Walters, *The Politics of Global Economic Relations* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977).
Mohammed Bedjaoui, *Towards a New International Economic Order* (NY: UNESCO, 1979).
Discussion Film: "Inside Europe: The Shirt Off Your Back," *World*. Discusses world trade in textiles, the effects on Common Market countries and Third World countries, some of the effects of MNC's and the international textile agreement.

**5. Forces of change, technology, culture, new transnational actors.**

Required reading:
Falk, Ch. 2, cont'd, pp. 113-141.
Pirages, Ch. 6.
Brown, Chs. 7, 8, 9.

Suggested reading:
M. B. Dolan and B. W. Tomlin, "First World—Third World Linkages," *International Organization*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 1980), 41-64.
John V. Granger, *Technology and International Relations* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1979).
Carol Cosgrove and K. Twitchett, *The New International Actors* (NY: MacMillan, 1970).
Robert C. Angell, *Peace on the March* (NY: Van Nostrand, 1969).
George Modelski, ed., *Transnational Corporations and World Order* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1979).
William Ophuls, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1977).
W. Henry Lambright, *Governing Science and Technology* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Discussion Film: "India: Machinery of Hope," NOVA. Presentation of India's attempt to use alternatives to centralized modernization through labor intensive small technologies.

**6. Alternative systems: Models based on law, models based on International Organizations.**

Required reading:
Falk, Ch. 3.
Brown, Ch. 6.
Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, *Introduction to World Peace Through World Law* (Chicago, IL: World Without War Publ., 1973), Part I (Part II recommended.)

Suggested reading:

Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, *World Peace Through World Law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

Wm. D. Coplin, *The Functions of International Law* (Skokie, IL: Rand McNally, 1966).

Milton Katz, *The Relevance of International Adjudication* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Peter Nanyenya-Takirambudde, *Technology Transfer and International Law* (NY: Praeger, 1980).

Gerhard von Glahn, *Law Among Nations* (NY: MacMillan, 1975).

Herbert Nicholas, *The United Nations as a Political System* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1975).

A. LeRoy Bennett, *International Organizations* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

Discussion Film: "Time of the Jackals," CTV production focusing on international terrorism. Terrorist attack on OPEC headquarters and the capture of Arab oil ministers is dramatized.

**7. Alternative systems; models based on world federalism, Marxist perspectives.**

Required reading:

Falk, Ch. 4.

Angell, Chs. 1-6.

Suggested reading:

Ali A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* (NY: Free Press, 1976).

W. Douglas, *Towards a Global Federalism* (NY: New York University Press, 1968).

Peter Cocks, "Toward a Marxist Theory of European Integration," *International Organization*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 1980), 1-40.

Christopher Chase-Dunn, "Comparative Research on World-System Characteristics," *ISQ*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (December 1979), 601-623.

Pierre Jalee, *Imperialism in the Seventies* (NY: Third Press, 1973).

Wm. Leiss, *The Limits to Satisfaction* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

Discussion Film: "Cashing in on the Ocean," *NOVA*. This film examines the political and economic ramifications of the world wide contest to tap the treasures of the sea. Shows negotiations at the U.N. Law of the Sea Conference.

**8. Alternative Systems: Models based on regionalism, functionalism and integration.**

Required reading:

Falk, Ch. 5.

Brown, Ch. 10.

Angell, Ch. 7.

Suggested reading:

P. A. Tharp, ed., *Regional International Organizations* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1971).

Werner J. Feld, *The European Community in World Affairs* (Port Washington, NY: Alfred, 1976).

Henry R. Nau, "From Integration to Interdependence," *International Organization*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Winter 1979), 119-147.

Roger W. Cobb and Charles Elder, *International Community: A Regional and Global Study* (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

Leon Lindberg and S. Scheingold, *Europe's Would-Be Polity* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

Ernst B. Haas, *Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964).

Discussion Film: "3900 Million and One," discussion of family planning and population issues. Focuses on the birth of a child in an Indian family.

**9. Alternative Systems; continuation and modification of the contemporary system, interdependence, dependence and power politics.**

Required reading:

Angell, Ch. 8.

Coplin, *Introduction to International Politics*, Ch. 13, pp. 399-419.

Robert Keohane and J. Nye, *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), Conclusion, pp. 371-398. (on reserve).

Suggested reading:

Robert Keohane and J. S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977).

Robert Keohane and J. S. Nye, *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

"Dependence and Dependency in the Global System," *International Organization*, Voi. 32, No. 1 (Winter 1978).

Richard Mansback, et al, *The Web of World Politics* (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976).

M. Camps, *The Management of Interdependence* (NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 1974).

Lester Brown, *World Without Borders: The Interdependence of Nations* (NY: Random, 1973).

Discussion Film: "Directions '79: Multinational Corporations." A MacNeil Lehrer Report which is a roundtable conversation with several experts on MNC's, including Richard Barnet and Raymond Vernon.

**10. Synthesis, World Order Models Project, values, criticisms, and evidence for/against transnational perspectives.**

Required reading:

Falk, Ch. 7.

Brown, Ch. 11.

Pirages, Ch. 8.

Angell, Ch. 9.

Suggested reading:

All the volumes of the WOMP listed in Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds and also Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy.*

*Interfutures: Facing the Future* (OECD, 1979).

Nazli Chouri and T. Robinson, eds., *Forecasting and International Relations* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976).

Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (NY: Basic Books, 1973).

Herman Kahn, et al, *The Next 200 Years* (NY: Morrow, 1976).

Karl Deutsch et al, *Problems of World Modelling: Political and Social Implications (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).*

Discussion Film: "The Gene Engineers," *NOVA*. Discusses scientific, moral, legal and policy questions of recombinant DNA research. Examines some of the problems related to the ability to alter and create new forms of life.

# On the Seriousness of the Future

**W. Basil McDermott** Summer 1980
General Studies 227 / Interdisciplinary Studies / Simon Fraser University / Burnaby, British Columbia / Canada, V5A1S6

> "In an age when men have invented machines to melt cities, an age in which war has become the norm and in which the only question is how hot or cold it is to be, it should hardly be necessary to speak of the seriousness of the future.... Yet I do not believe that most of us take the future very seriously."
>
> Robert L. Heilbroner

I wish to speak with you about the seriousness of the future. This is no easy task and at moments my resolve weakens and I am strongly tempted to flee from the topic. For I painfully realize that even if I *desired* to be serious about the future, there are many obstacles that thwart my *ability* to do so. Indeed, the very concept of 'the future' itself easily becomes a slippery metaphor for 'all of reality' and as such comes to include all of our hopes and fears. A concept or topic that seemingly includes 'everything' thus lends itself to intense controversy. And this is one of the first things we discover when we attempt to speak about 'the future'. People disagree about the prospects ahead. We will learn rather quickly that some individuals are quite worried about the possibility, probability, or even inevitability in their view, of an immensely devastating nuclear, biological, or chemical war that may extinguish human life altogether. Or we may note that others argue the growing world population (although they concede that the rate of growth is slowing) will not become 'stabilized' prior to a series of cruel famines. In addition, with an increase in human numbers concentrated mostly in the poorer regions of the world, they can only forsee greater human misery on the horizon. There are, moreover, those who indict the industrialized' areas of the world for creating energy shortages, vast patterns of pollution, inflation, unemployment, and unlivable cities. Furthermore, there is the special dread of those who fear our delicate and fragile biosphere is rapidly being strained beyond its might, and that a climactic or biological 'collapse' may occur. The cumulative picture of the future is thus a combination of Armageddon, 1984, or the bleak, stark image of bestial existence imagined by Thomas Hobbes to be the special reserve of humans living outside the pale of civilization in a 'state of nature' in which life is 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.'

According to others this is an entirely outrageous view of the future. To counter such expressions of fear, alarm, or, as they would consider it, morbid fantasy, they point to the not inconsiderable human achievements of our era. They readily concede that certain crucial problems exist today but they quickly add that human ingenuity, hard work, and the application of our current and growing scientific knowledge will enable us to cope reasonably well. They would add, I believe, that the prophets of doom and gloom have excessively exaggerated the seriousness of the alleged threats to human well-being in the future and have significantly underestimated our potential to respond to the challenges of our age.

But the question still remains: Just how serious is the future likely to be? Is there any way to really know which problems are most serious and what, if anything, can or should be done about them? Is it possible to make sense out of the conflicting outlooks on the potential seriousness of the future? This course attempts to provide a way to explore such questions. It does so by examining the central controversies now raging about the presumed seriousness of the future. Unfortunately, there can be no ultimate resolution on most of these matters. This is because "even if we obtained as much data about the future as the historians have about the past, we would still be as uncertain in our interpretations of the future as the historians are in their interpretations of the past." (Fred C. Ikle) We must always bear in mind that people disagree not simply about what they think may occur in the future but also about what they would prefer to have happen. In our exploration of the nature of the problems facing us, I shall devote special attention to certain kinds of connections that exist between different types of problems. Some of these connections may well have surprising or unanticipated consequences for us.

Finally, in this brief introductory statement, permit me to add a mild caveat. In my view no serious person can claim to have definite proof of what the future holds in store for us in all important respects. Nevertheless, a lack of 'conclusive advance evidence' is not a sufficient reason for refusing to assess, as best we can, the potential seriousness of our assorted and interrelated problems. In a word, though all thought about the future involves an unavoidable and uncomfortable element of speculation, not all speculation is equally thoughtful or helpful. More than a decade of 'future watching' has taught me how easy it is to be careless in how we think about different aspects of the future. I shall attempt in this course, therefore, to avoid as much carelessness as I possibly can.

## TEXTS

The required reading for the course consists of three books. Throughout the course outline I have also indicated additional material to which the student may wish to refer. Furthermore, one may consult the additional reading lists at the end of the texts for the course, *The Twenty-Ninth Day*, and *The Next 200 Years.* Within the course outline itself I have attempted to keep such a list representative of various 'positions' and 'outlooks' on different aspects of the future.

Heilbroner, Robert L. *An Inquiry Into the Human Prospect.* (New York: Norton, 1975).

Kahn, Herman, Brown, William, and Martel, Leon. *The Next 200 Years.* (New York: William & Morrow, 1976).

Brown, Lester R. *The Twenty-Ninth Day: Accommodating Human Needs and Numbers to the Earth's Resources.* (New York: Norton, 1978).

## LECTURES

I shall commence with a general overview on how I have come to think about the future as a result of more than a decade of 'future watching' in my teaching and research. Then I shall devote some attention to certain basic problems that arise when we attempt to predict, let alone control, different aspects of the future. The fundamental emphasis of the course, however, will concern an exploration of the major controversies about the alleged seriousness of the future. I shall focus on the following questions: (1) What are the central issues that future watchers worry about? (2) How are these problems connected to one another? (3) What criteria do different people use to establish priorities of worry and concern? (4) What are the implications of our inability to understand properly or to control astutely any one of these problems?

## I. WHAT TEN YEARS OF TEACHING ABOUT THE FUTURE HAVE TAUGHT ME

Some reservations about the sufficiency of our currently growing knowledge to control the major problems of our era...

Required

Heilbroner, Chapter (1) "Initial Reflections on the Human Prospect"; Chapter (2) "The External Challenges".

Reference

Boulding, Kenneth E. *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century.* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1964).

Heilbroner, Robert L. *The Future as History.* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959).

## II. THE KING'S MESSENGER PROBLEM

"If the news that you bring is dreaded to hear,
By the King and his Court, then you'd better have fear.
For he who bad tidings dares to report
May find that his life has been cut quite short."

. . . On the role of psychological denial, selective perception, and fear in our willingness to evaluate the seriousness of different problems.

Required

Heilbroner, Chapter 3, "Socio-Economic Capabilities for Response"; Chapter 4, "The Political Dimension and 'Human Nature'"

Reference

Maddox, John. *The Doomsday Syndrome.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972).

Goldsmith, Edgar, et.al., "A Blue Print For Survival", *The Ecologist*, Vol. II:1 (January, 1972), p. 1-43.

## III. THE CRYSTAL BALL PROBLEM

"Though a man may be brave,
And willing right now,
To peer at the Future,
He may not know how."

. . . On the limits of various methods used to predict the future. . . . "What can we really know about the future? Precious little! But that little is precious." Kenneth Boulding.

Required

Heilbroner, pp. 127-78. "Final Reflections on the Human Prospect".

Reference

de Jouvenel. *The Art of Conjecture.* (New York: Basic Books, 1964).

Ferkiss, Victor. *Futurology: Promise, Performance, Prospects.* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977).

Clarke, Arthur C. *Profiles of the Future.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

## IV. THE DOOMSDAY PROBLEM: REFLECTIONS ON MODERN WARFARE TECHNOLOGY

"Some say the Bomb will have the Distinction,
Of leading our species on to Extinction."

. . . What are the alternative interpretations of the significance of our accelerating weapons technology? In what sense does the nature of modern warfare pose a unique threat to the survival of life on our planet?

Required

Kahn, Chapter 1. Introduction: Putting Growth in Perspective; Chapter 2. Turning Points in the Growth of Population and Product

Reference

Taylor, Gordon R. *The Doomsday Book* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970).

*Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmaments.* (New York: Humanities Press.) Yearly Edition since 1968.

Boulding, Kenneth E. *Stable Peace.* (Austin: University of Texas, 1978).

## V. THE LIMITS TO GROWTH CONTROVERSY I: MAKING SENSE OF THE BASIC QUESTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES IN DISPUTE.

"200 years ago almost everywhere human beings were comparatively few, poor and at the mercy of the forces of nature, and 200 years from now, we expect, almost everywhere they will be numerous, rich and in control of the forces of nature." Herman Kahn

"Whether we are unable to sustain growth or unable to tolerate it, the long era of industrial expansion is now entering its final stages, and we must anticipate the commencement of a new era of stationary total output and (if population growth continues or an equitable sharing among nations has not yet been attained) declining material output per head in the advanced nations." Robert L. Heilbroner

Required

Kahn, Chapter 3. Energy: Exhaustible to Inexhaustible; Chapter 4. Raw Materials: The End of the Beginning

Reference

Meadows, Dennis L., et.al. *The Limits to Growth: A Report for The Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind.* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974).

Mesarovic, M. and Pestel, E. *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome.* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974).

## VI. THE LIMITS TO GROWTH CONTROVERSY II: ALTERNATIVE ENERGY REQUIREMENTS AND FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

. . . On the implications and potential consequences of the increasing demand for both renewable and nonrenewable sources of energy.

Required

Kahn, Chapter 5. Food: Supplying Demand; Chapter 6. The Near-Term Enviornment: Clean Air, Clear Water and Aesthetic Landscapes.

Olson, M. and Landsberg, Hans H., (eds.). *The No-Growth Society.* (New York: Norton, 1975).

Henderson, Hazel. *Creating Alternative Futures.* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Publ., 1978).

Knelman, Fred. *Anti-Nation: Transition to Sustainability.* (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1979).

## VII. THE LIMITS TO GROWTH CONTROVERSEY III: ALTERNATIVE KINDS OF 'CARRYING CAPACITIES' AND HOW THEY INTERACT WITH OTHER ASPECTS OF LIFE

"The survival of man is in question.
Some say through a lack of reflection.
But it's hard to contain,
A yearning for gain,
Unless you enforce discretion."

. . . "It is one thing to ponder how much we can 'take' from the Earth; it is another to explore how much the Earth can 'take' from assorted kinds of human activity."

Required

Kahn, Chatper 7. The Difficult Long-Term Environment: Maintaining Earth's Fragile Envelope; Chapter 8. From Present to Future: The Problems of Transition to a Post-Industrial Society; Chapter 9. The Tasks Ahead.

Reference

Commoner, Barry. *The Closing Circle.* (New York: Knopf, 1972).

O'Neill Gerard. *The High Frontier Human Colonies in Space* (New York: Bantam, 1978).

## VIII. THE LIMITS TO GROWTH CONTROVERSY IV: THE MORE PROBLEM

"Millions yearn for immortality who do not know what to do with themselves on a rainy Sunday afternoon" Susan Ertz

Required

Brown, Chapter 1. Introduction; Chapter 2. Ecological Stresses I: The Dimensions; Chapter 3. Ecological Stresses II: The Consequences.

Reference

Hirsch, Fred. *Social Limits to Growth.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1976).

Leontief, Wassily, et. al. *Future of the World Economy: A United Nations Study* (New York: Oxford University Press 1977).

Meadows, Dennis, L., (ed.) *Alternative to Growth I: A Search for Sustainable Futures.* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).

## IX. OF HUMAN NUMBERS: TOWARD A UNIVERSAL POPULATION POLICY?

"The question is not so much, 'How many people can the earth possibly maintain? Rather, it is: How many people do we wish to live at what level of affluence for what period of time and doing what sorts of things with their time and energy?"

. . . What would a 'rational' population policy for the entire world look like?

Required

Brown, Chapter 4. Population: Understanding the Threat; Chapter 5. Energy: The Coming Transition

Reference

Hardin, G. and Baden, J. (eds.). *Managing the Commons.* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman, 1977).

Peccei, Aurelio. *The Human Quality.* (Elmsford, New York: Pergamon, 1977).

## X. THE BIOCHEMICAL REVOLUTION

"The price of immortality is a childless world."

. . . From the regulation of human numbers to the specification of human characteristics. Where is our knowledge of life processes taking us? How is this vast area of growing knowledge related to other problems of the future?

Required

Brown, Chapter 6. The Food Prospect; Chapter 7. Economic Stresses.

Reference

Wolstenholme, Gordon (ed.). *Man and His Future.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963).

Taylor, Gordon R. *The Biological Time Bomb.* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1968).

Kurtzman, Joel and Gordon, Philip. *No More Dying: The Conquest of Aging and the Extension of Human Life.* (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, Inc., 1976).

## XI. ON THE "LAW" OF THE CONSERVATION OF MISERY AND TROUBLE

"Ashes to ashes,
Dust to dust,
If the Bomb doesn't get you,
The Pollution must."

. . . Why is it that one person's progress has so often been another person's pain?

Required

Brown, Chapter 8. Wealth Among Societies; Chapter 9. Wealth Within Societies.

Reference

Moore, Barrington Jr. *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery and Upon Certain Proposals to Eliminate Them.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972).

McNeil, William H. *Plagues and Peoples.* (New York: Anchor Press, 1976).

Esfandiary, F.M. *Optimism One* (1970) and *Up-Wingers: A Futurist Manifesto* (1973). (New York: Fawcett Popular Library, 1978).

## XII. ON TAKING DECLINE SERIOUSLY

. . . An examination of both the difficulties and importance of taking the prospects of decline more seriously than we have to date . . .

Required

Brown, Chapter 10. The Inevitable Accommodation; Chapter 11. The Elements of Accommodation; Chapter 12. The Means of Accommodation.

Reference

Roszak, Theodore. *Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society.* (New York: Anchor Press, 1978).

Taylor, Gordon Rattray. *Rethink: A Paraprimitive Solution.* (New York: Dutton, 1973).

Ferkiss, Victor. *The Future of Technological Civilization.* (New York: Braziller, 1974).

# The Literature of Future Studies and Policy Studies

**Michael Marien**
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Spring 1979

The purposes of the course are to introduce students to:

- the fundamentals of thinking about alternative futures, public policies, and societal change
- the major reference works that give access to this thinking
- the major books that exemplify the basic world views
- the problems in cross-disciplinary documentation.

The course grade will be determined by classroom participation and by two papers: a shorter paper of 5-10 pages (due March 8) and a longer paper of 10-20 pages (due April 26).

## OUTLINE OF SESSIONS

### INTRODUCTION

In the past 10-15 years, there has been a growing awareness that the established academic disciplines cannot provide an adequate explanation of social problems and their resolution. Moreover, the specialized and cautious styles of much academic work serve to inhibit the broad, risky, but necessary activity of studying alternative futures and desirable public policies. This activity ideally involves three interrelated perspectives: viewing our present situation systemically in time and space, forecasting what might happen, and prescribing what ought to happen.

The response to this need has been an increasing interest in cross-disciplinary foci such as future studies and policy studies. Potentially, these loosely conceived, overlapping, inchoate fields may serve as a centripetal force to balance the centrifugal fragmentation encouraged by modern disciplines and professions. Although it is unlikely that the present system for classifying knowledge will change, this development does suggest an important adaptation, and an alternative system (or overlay) to enable a better understanding of the central problems of man, society, and the natural environment, and how these complex interrelationships can best be managed.

### 1. Thinking About Futures and Policies (Jan. 18)

On methods of forecasting and policy analysis, and the relationship of future studies to policy studies.

*World Future Society. An Introduction to the Study of the Future* (1977), 393 pp. (Assigned reading for second week; begin before first class if possible.)

Michael Marien, "Handy Guide to Public Policy Proposers and their Proposals," *Public Administration Review* (March-April 1970).

### 2. Future Studies and Policy Studies: The Social Foundations (Jan. 25)

The social history of the World Future Society, the Policy Studies Organization, and thinking about the future, with a discussion of problems in describing these fuzzy and overlapping realms. Who is a futurist and what is future studies, futures research, futurology, futuristics, etc.? Who is a policy analyst and what constitutes policy studies? What is the relationship to other cross-disciplinary areas: cybernetics, general systems theory, utopian studies, planning, public administration, environmental studies?

World Future Society. *An Introduction to the Study of the Future* (1977) 393 pp.

World Future Society. *The Future: A Guide to Information Sources* (1977) 603 pp.

Michael Marien, "Who's Who in Future Studies," *FUTURES: The Journal of Planning and Forecasting,* 9:6 (Dec. 1977) pp. 526-533. Critique of 3 guides.

Jib Fowles, ed., *Handbook of Future Research* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1978) 822 pp.

Michael Marien, "What's What (Somewhat) in Futures Research (or Whatever)," *FUTURES,* 10:6 (Dec. 1978) (not on reserve). Critique of Fowles.

Harold Linstone and W. H. C. Simmonds, eds., *Futures Research: New Directions* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1988).

J. Scott Armstrong, *Long-Range Forecasting: From Crystal Ball to Computer* (Wiley-Interscience, 1978). 630 pp. Includes 800-item bibliography.

Policy Studies Organization, *Policy Studies Directory, 1976* (On programs, or the lack of them, at 137 universities.)

Stuart Nagel, *Policy Studies Review Annual, Vol. 1* (Sage, Aug., 1977), 750 pp.

Howard E. Freeman, ed., *Policy Studies Review Annual, Vol. 2* (Sage, Aug. 1978).

Douglas E. Ashford et al, ed., *Comparative Public Policy : A Cross-National Bibliography* (Sage, June, 1978), 224 pp.

Stuart Nagel and Marian Neef, *Policy Analysis: in Social Science Research* (Sage, 1979).

**3. Societal Directions and Alternatives: An Overview of the Primary Questions (Feb. 1)**

The basic concern of most futurists is with the broad questions about where "developed," "advanced," or "industrial" societies are headed, and what are the desirable directions that we might aim for. There are many approaches to this question, from a variety of disciplines and ideologies.

Michael Marien, *Societal Directions and Alternatives: A Critical Guide to the Literature* (Lafayette, NY: Information for Policy Design, 1976) 400 pp. (Read the entire book, with special emphasis on the "Optimists and Pessimists" contrasted in Chapter 3.)

Jib Fowles, ed., *Handbook of Futures Research* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1978), 455-531.

Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (NY: Random House, 1970), Part 6, 327-430.

**4. Ideologies and Interest Groups: A Basic Taxonomy (Feb. 8)**

The variety of approaches to policy and the future is best appreciated by understanding the major contemporary ideologies (or systems of values and beliefs), which compete for influence in our highly pluralistic "information society" (See Session #12). The following readings serve to exemplify the basic views:

(Conservative) William E. Simon, *A Time for Truth* (NY: McGraw-Hill/Reader's Digest, 1978), 248 pp.

(Neo-Conservative) Herman Kahn, et al, *The Next 200 Years* (NY: Morrow, 1976), 241 pp.

(Liberal) Ervin Laszlo, et al, *Goals for Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on New Horizons of Global Community,* Updated and Revised (NY: NAL Signet, April 1978), 374 pp.

(Democratic Socialist) Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (Saturday Review Press, 1972); (NY: Bantam, 1973), 436 pp.

(Decentralist/Ecologist) E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973), 290 pp.

(Libertarian) Murray N. Rothbard, *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto,* Revised Edition (NY: Macmillan/Collier Books, 1978), 338 pp.

Michael Marien, "The Two Visions of Post-Industrial Society," *FUTURES,* 9:5 (Oct. 1977), 415-431. Contrasts neo-conservative/liberal vision of the service society with the decentralist, eco-agrarian view.

## II. FORMS AND SOURCES OF FUTURES-RELEVANT MATERIALS

**5. Think Tanks and Research Institutes (Feb. 15)**

An understanding of ideologies enables a better assessment of the various centers of research which are responsible for much of the literature of future studies and policy studies:

Conservative: Hoover Institute, Heritage Foundation

Neo-Conservative: Hudson Institute, Rand, American Enterprise Institute

Liberal: Brookings Institution, Urban Institute, Resources for the Future, Stanford Research International, Club of Rome, Aspen Institute, CED, CFR

Democratic Socialist: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Decentralist: Institute for Policy Studies, Institute for World Order, New Alchemy Institute, Worldwatch Institute, CIDOC, Princeton Center for Alternative Futures, Institute for Liberty and Community

Libertarian: World Research, Inc.

Such an understanding of who advocates what also enables a better assessment of what is offered and not offered in various guidebooks.

Paul Dickson, *Think Tanks* (NY: Atheneum, 1971), 369 pp.

World Future Society, *The Future: A Guide to Information Sources*, pp. 11-116.

Policy Studies Organization, *Policy Research Centers Director 1978* (Urbana, IL: Policy Studies).

John McHale and Magda Cordell McHale, *The Futures Directory* IPC (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1977), 1-123.

David Hussey, *The Corporate Planner's Yearbook 1978-79* (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon, June 1978).

### 6. Publishers of Books, Reports, and Periodicals (Feb. 22)

Publishers of books and periodicals can to some degree be classified by ideology, but are perhaps best sorted out according to market. Futures-relevant books are issued by large trade publishers, major university presses, professional publishers and small publishers (minor universities, COSMEP members, interest groups, and some research institutes). Futures-relevant articles can be found in general periodicals such as *Harper's and Commentary*, general scholarly periodicals such as *Science* and *Foreign Policy*, specialized scholarly periodicals such as *Alternative Futures and Technological Forecastings and Social Change*, and numerous newsletters.

World Future Society, *The Future: A Guide to Information Sources*, pp. 393-418.

World Future Society, "*Future Survey*" (monthly newsletter distributed in class).

*World Future Society Catalog 1979*, 70 pp.

Policy Studies Organization, *Policy Network Directory*

Valentina Bouremans, "Guide to Use Value Oriented Convivial Tools," CIDOC. Bibliography of social change bibliographies.

Michael Marien, "A World Institute Guide to Futures Periodicals," *Fields Within Fields*, No. 12 (Summer 1974).

Theodore J. and Janet P. Spahn, *From Radical Left to Extreme Right*, Vol. 3, 2nd rev. enlarged edition. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, Sept. 1976).

Social Responsibilities Round Table of the American Library Assn., *Alternatives in Print 77-78: A Catalog of Social Change Publications*, 5th edition (San Francisco: New-Glide Publications, Fall 1977).

Dennis D. Murphy, "Directory of Conservative and Libertarian Serials, Publishers, and Freelance Markets", 2nd edition (1979), 64 pp.

Union of International Associations, *Yearbook of World Problems and Human Potential* (NY: Int'l Pub. Service, 1976).

### 7. The Future in Film and Fiction (March 3)

Most people develop their images of the distant future from films and science fiction. To be "futuristic" in popular culture suggests the use of high technology often in some outer space setting. This may indeed be our fate, although there is a growing critique of this general direction. Science fiction studies and utopian studies are both academic specialties which can be seen as related to future studies, for better or worse, although rather distant from policy studies.

Glenn Negley, *Utopian Literature: A Bibliography with a Supplementary Listing of Works Influential in Utopian Thought* (Regents Press of kansas, Jan. 1978), 228 pp.

Miriam Strauss Weiss, *A Lively Corpse* (Cranbury, NJ: A. S. Barnes, 1969). Chronological listing of about 550 utopian writings.

W. H. G. Araytage, *Yesterday's Tomorrows: A Historical Survey of Future Societies* (Toronto: U of Toronto Press, 1968).

I. F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Future* (Davis, CA: The Library Association, 1961).

Robert Reginald, ed., *Science Fiction and Fantasy Literature: A Checklist from Earliest Times to 1974* (Detroit, MI: Gale, April 1977).

Robert Holdstock, ed., *Encyclopedia of Science Fiction* (Mayflower/Octopus Books, Dec. 1978).

Marie Marsin, *Films on the Future*, 3rd edition (Washington, DC: World Future Society, 1977), 78 pp.

Walt Lee, *Reference Guide to Fantastic Films, Science Fiction, Fantasy & Horror*, 3 volumes (Los Angeles, CA: Chelsea-Lee Books, 1972). Covers more than 20,000 films.

Ernest Callenbach, *Ecotopia* (NY: Bantam, 1977).

Paul Erdman, *The Crash of '79* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1976; Pocket Books, 1977).

Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (NY: Harrow, 1932).

George Orwell, *1984* (NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1949).

David Goodman, "Countdown to 1984: Big Brother May Be Right on Schedule," *The Futurist*, XII:6 (Dec. 1978).

## III. CONTENT: MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS

An understanding of thinking about the future, ideologies, and who publishes what and where, can assist in the examination of major problems.

### 8. Population/Resources/Environment (March 8)

Marien, *Societal Directions and Alternatives* (Lafayette, NY: Info. Policy Design, 1976), Ch. 5.

Donella W. Meadows, et al. *The Limits to Growth* (NY: Universe, 1972).

Samuel Ordway, *Resources and the American Dream: Including a Theory of the Limit to Growth* (NY: Ronald Press, 1953).

Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point* (NY: Dutton, 1974). (Second report to Club of Rome.)

Amory B. Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths: Toward a Durable Peace* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).

Kenneth A. Hammond, et al, eds., *Sourcebook on the Environment: A Guide to the Literature* (Chicago, IL: U of Chicago Press, Aug. 1978).

*Environment Abstracts* (Environmental Information Center)

*The Energy Index '77* (Environmental Information Center)

G. Hutton and M. Rostron, *International Bibliography of Alternative Energy Sources* (NY: Nichols Publishing Co., Spet. 1978).

### 9. Technology, Technology Assessment, and Appropriate Technology (March 22)

Arthur C. Clarke, *Profiles of the Future* (NY: Harper & Row, 1963).

Herbert Muller, *The Children of Frankenstein* (Indiana, 1970).

Gerard O'Neill, *The High Frontier* (NY: Morrow, 1977), 288 pp.

Ted Greenwood, et al, *Nuclear Proliferation* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 211 pp.

Paul Dickson, *The Electronic Battlefield* (Indiana, 1976).

Editors of Rain, *Rainbook: Resources for Appropriate Technology* (NY: Schocken, 1977).

Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973).

Ina Spiegel-Rosing and Derek de Solla Price, eds., *Science, Technology, and Society: A Cross-Disciplinary Perspective* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, June 1977).

"Technology Assessment: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications, 1966-1971," in U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Science and Astronautics, *Technical information for Congress*, Revised, April 1971, pp. 773-845.

### 10. Economics (March 29)

Marien, *Societal Directions and Alternatives* (Lafayette, NY: Info. Policy Design, 1976), Ch. 10.

W. W. Rostow, *The World Economy: History and Prospect* (Austin, TX: U of Texas, April 1978), 900 pp.

W. W. Rostow, *Getting from Here to There* (NY: McGraw-Hill, May 1978), 271 pp.

Wassily Leontief, et al, *The Future of the World Economy* (NY: Oxford, 1977), 110 pp.

Leopold Mohr, *The Breakdown of Nations* (NY: Dutton paper edition, 1978), Ch. 8, "The Efficiency of the Small: The Economic Argument."

Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Muller, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1974).

### 11. Society and Politics (April 5)

Marien, *Societal Directions and Alternatives* (Lafayette, NY: Info. Policy Design, 1976), Chs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9.

Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (NY: Basic Books, 1973).

Michael Marien, "Daniel Bell and the End of Normal Science," *The Futurist*, VII:5 (Dec. 1973). Critique of Bell's book.

Theodore Roszak, *Where the Wasteland Ends: Politics and Transcendence in Postindustrial Society* (NY: Doubleday, 1972).

Theodore Roszak, *PersonPlanet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society (NY: Anchor Press Doubleday, 1978).*

Mark Satin, *New Age Politics* (Whitecap Books, 1978), 240 pp.

*America in the Seventies: Some Social Indicators, The ANNALS*, Vol. 435 (Jan. 1978). Special issue reproducing the U. S. Government's *Social Indicators*, 1976 with added commentary by leading social scientists.

### 12. Communications: The Information Society (April 12)

James Martin, *The Wired Society* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978).

John McHale, *The Changing Information Environment* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1976), 117 pp.

Christopher H. Sterling and Timothy Haight, *The Mass Media: Aspen Guide to Communication Industry Trends* (NY: Praeger, Fall 1977).

William L. Rivers, ed., *Aspen Handbook on the Media* (NY: Praeger, Fall, 1977).

International Mass Media Research Center, *Marxism and the Mass Media: Towards a Basic Bibliography* (International General, Box 350, NYC 10013, June 1978).

### 13. Health (April 19)

This session topic may be eliminated if any of the previous 12 sessions deserves an extra week.

Michael Marien, *The World Institute Guide to Alternative Futures for Health* (Draft, 1973-1974), 323 pp.

Warren T. Reich, editor-in-chief, *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, 4 volumes (NY: Free Press, Oct. 1978).

Jerrold S. Maxmen, *The Post-physician Era: Medicine in the 21st Century* (Wiley-Interscience, 1976), 300 pp.

Robert F. Rushmer, *Humanizing Health Care: Alternative Futures for Medicine* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975).

Ivan Illich, *Medical Nemesis: The Exploration of Health* (NY: Pantheon, 1976).

Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences, Annual Bibliography.

Source Collective, *Organizing for Health Care* (Boston: Source Catalog #3, Beacon, 1974).

## IV. SUMMATION

### 14. Summary Session (April 26)

Review of course, discussion of problems of collection and dissemination, and possible discussion of student papers. No reading assignment; terms papers due this week.

7 C

# International Organization and Law

The UN System in Global Problem Solving
Chadwick Alger

United Nations and World Order
Donald W. McNemar

International Organization
Samuel S. Kim

International Organizations
Chadwick Alger

The International Legal Order
Richard Falk

# The UN System in Global Problem Solving

**Chadwick F. Alger** Fall 1979
Political Science 551N / Ohio State University / Columbus, OH 43210

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

The basic objective of the course is to enable participants to acquire an understanding of present activities of the UN system and its potential in the future for promoting economic well being, social justice, ecological balance, resource sharing and limitation of violence.

In the first part of the course the present UN system will be placed in the context of its historical roots (the League of Nations and earlier), and compared with the UN in its early years. The UN will also be placed in the context of other international organizations: some 300 other international governmental organizations, over 2500 international nongovernmental organizations and numerous transnational corporations.

In the second part of the course the class will consider an array of preferred world orders as presented by scholars from Uganda, India, Chile, Norway, Japan and the United States. How do different present conditions in these countries affect preferences for the future? What are the implications of these differing views for the future of the UN system?

The third part of the course will focus on proposals for the global commons: ocean, outer space and weather. What criteria should determine how these commons should be used? How and by whom should the rules for their use be formulated? Who should have the authority to implement the rules, and by what processes?

Throughout the course attention will be given to public interest, opinion, support and participation in UN-related activities, with particular concern for involvement of individuals and organizations in mid-Ohio.

## BOOKS TO BE PURCHASED

A. Leroy Bennett, *International Organization: Principles and Issues* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977).

Seyom Brown, Nina W. Cornell, Larry L. Fabran and Edith Brown Weiss, *Regimes for the Ocean, Outer Space, and Weather* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977).

Saul Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (New York: The Free Press, 1975).

UN Association of the USA, *Issues Before the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations*, 1979-1980 (New York: UNA, 1979).

## READINGS

### Part I: The Past and Present

Sept. 25:
Bennett, Ch. 1, "By Way of Introduction"
Bennett, Ch. 2, "A Great Experiment—The League of Nations"
Bennett, Ch. 3, "The Genesis of the United Nations"
Bennett, Ch. 4, "Basic Principles and Organization of the United Nations"

Sept. 27:
Bennett, Ch. 5 "Some Basic Issues of the United Nations"
Bennett, Ch. 6 "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes"

Oct. 2:
Bennett, Ch. 7, "Collective Security and Its Alternatives – Theory and Practice"
UN Assn, Ch. 1, "Peace, Conflict and Statehood"

Oct. 4:
Bennett, Ch. 8, "The Search for Justice Under Law"
UN Assn, Ch. 5, "Legal Issues"
Bennett, Ch. 9, "Controlling the Instruments of War"
UN Assn, Ch. 2, "Arms Control and Disarmament

Oct. 9:
Bennett, Ch. 10, "Promoting Economic Welfare"
UN Assn, Ch. 3, "Economic Development"

Oct. 11:
Bennett, Ch. 11, "Promoting Social Progress"
UN Assn, Ch. 4, "Human Rights and Social Issues"
Bennett, Ch. 12, "The Struggle for Self-Government"

Oct. 16:
Bennett, Ch. 13, "Varieties of Regionalism"
Bennett, Ch. 14, "International Administration and the Search for Leadership"
UN Assn, Ch. 6, "Administration and Budget"

Oct. 18:
Bennett, Ch. 15, "New Dimensions in International Organization"
Bennett, Ch. 16, "International Organization in Retrospect and Prospect"

Oct. 23:
Review of Bennett and UN Assn.

Oct. 25:
QUIZ, covering Bennett, UN Assn., lectures and class discussion.

**Part II: Perspectives on Future World Order from Uganda, India, Chile, Norway, Japan and the U.S.**

Oct. 30:
Mazrui, "World Cultures and the Search for Human Consensus" in Mendlovitz, ed.
Kothari, "World Politics and World Order: The Issue of Autonomy" in Mendlovitz, ed.
Lagos, "The Revolution of Being" in Mendlovitz, ed.

Nov. 6:
Galtung, "Nonterritorial Actors and the Problem of Peace"
Sakomoto,"Towards Global Identity" in Mendlovitz, ed.

Nov. 8:
Falk, "Toward a New World Order: Modest Methods and Drastic Visions" in Mendlovitz, ed.

**Part III: Planning for the Global Commons: Ocean Outer Space and Weather**

Nov. 13:
Brown, Ch. 1, "Regime Alternatives for the Ocean, Outer Space and the Weather"
Brown, Ch. 2, "Alternative Regimes for the Ocean"
Brown, Ch. 3, "The Management of Navigation"
Brown, Ch. 4, "The Management of Fisheries"
Brown, Ch. 5, "Offshore Oil and Gas Exploration"

Nov. 15:
Brown, Ch. 6, "Hard Mineral Exploitation of the Deep Seabed"
Brown, Ch. 7, "Scientific Research"
Brown, Ch. 8, "Toward a Durable Regime for the Ocean"
Brown, Ch. 9, "Alternative Regimes for Activities in Outer Space"
Brown, Ch. 10, "Remote Sensing of the Earth from Outer Space"

Nov. 20:
Brown, Ch. 11, "Television Broadcasting via Satellites"
Brown, Ch. 12, "Maritime Satellites"
Brown, Ch. 13, "Frequency and Orbit"
Brown, Ch. 14, "Toward International Accountability in the Use of Outer Space"

Nov. 27:
Brown, Ch. 15, "Regime Alternatives of the Weather and Climate"
Brown, Ch. 16, "Rainmaking and Typhoon Modification"
Brown, Ch. 17, "Major Changes in Weather and Climate"
Brown, Ch. 18, "Toward International Accountability in the Alteration of the Weather and Climate"
Brown, Ch. 19, "Toward Effective International Management of the Ocean, Outer Space and the Weather"
Review of readings in Mendlovitz and Brown.

## SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS

Oct. 30:
Write a letter to the editor of a Columbus newspaper commenting on coverage of UN system.

Nov. 6:
Write a letter to your Congressperson or Senator with respect to their position on an issue involving the UN system. When they reply, turn in an evaluation of their response.

Nov. 13:
Consult Yearbook of International Organizations. Learn how to use it. List all international nongovernmental organizations to which you are linked by your personal voluntary organization memberships.

Nov. 20:
Report on an international voluntary organization (fraternal, religious, professional, service, etc.) in which you are a member.

1. Briefly describe the organization and its goals.
2. Describe its major international activities.
3. In what ways do local people participate in these activities?
4. What part do people in local communities play in policy-making for these activities?
5. How could local participation be improved?
6. Evaluate the contribution of this organization to world peace. How could this contribution be strengthened?

## GRADES

Mid-term: 30%
Special Assignments: 30%
Final Examination: 30%

# United Nations and World Order

**Donald W. McNemar** Spring 1978
Government 55 / Department of Government / Dartmouth College / Hanover, NH 03755

## PURPOSE OF THE COURSE:

This course examines the role of the United Nations in responding to contemporary global problems. The readings and discussions are designed to develop an understanding of the operation of the United Nations as well as an appreciation of the limitations and potential of international organizations.

The historical development, the organization structure, and the constitutional issues of the U.N. are considered at the outset of the course. The United Nations response to four areas of global problems are examine under the headings of peace, economic well-being, social justice, and ecological balance. Since existing institutions may be inadequate to cope with such problems, alternative models of world order will also be considered and appraised.

## STRUCTURE OF THE COURSE:

The course will meet twice a week for seminar-type discussions of the topics and readings.

## BOOKS FOR THE COURSE:

Falk, Richard A., Kim, Samuel, Mendlovitz, Saul H., and McNemar, Donald W. *The United Nations and a Just World Order.* (Forthcoming, Westview Press).

This text provides both a framework for analysis of the United Nations and a diverse set of readings about the U.N. which are drawn from U.N. documents and articles by scholars and public officials. (Chapter numbers refer to the preliminary edition.)

Kay, David A., ed. *The Changing United Nations: Options for the United States.* (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1977).

This collection of essays analyses contemporary issues at the U.N. with particular emphasis on what the United States policy should be regarding them.

*Issues Before the 32nd General Assembly of the United Nations.* 1977-78 Edition. (New York, United Nations Association of the United States, 1977).

This monograph provides a summary of the issues facing the General Assembly with explanation of the topics and references to U.N. documents and sources on the topics. Many U.N. delegates use this document as an important background paper for their participation in the G.A. debates. You will find it useful in understanding current topics on the U.N. agenda and in starting work on your research paper.

## BACKGROUND READING:

In order to insure a solid background of information for your use in studying the U.N. two books are recommended to be read at the outset of the course. These are not assigned at specific times on the syllabus, but you will want to have this knowledge early in the term and will be responsible for the information on the midterm.

Regarding the history and the structure of the organization, H.G. Nicholas, *The United Nations as a Political Institution,* 5th Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), provides a good introduction.

A summary of recent issues on the U.N. agenda including both past actions and future questions is found in the short monograph by Henry C. Beerits, *The United Nations and Human Survival* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1976).

Because the course deals with U.N. involvement in several contemporary issues such as the Middle East, Southern Africa, and Disarmament, it is essential that you are familiar with current international events. The best source for background on these issues is a daily reading of the *New York Times*. It is expected that you will be prepared to discuss contemporary issues with which the United Nations deals.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**
The requirements for Government 55 are: 1) readings; 2) participation in class discussion; 3) hour examination; 4) course paper; 5) participation in model Security Council project; 6) written critique of text; and 7) final examination. Each of these requirements must be fulfilled in order to pass the course. Grades will be weighted as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hour Exam | 15% |
| Model Security Council | 15% |
| Research Paper | 30% |
| Final Exam | 40% |

**HOUR EXAM:**
The hour exam will be given on Apr. 27 and will cover all readings on the syllabus up to and including those for Apr. 27 as well as the Nicholas and Beerits books.

**MODEL SECURITY COUNCIL:**
The course will include a Model Security Council during the week of May 9. The topic of debate on the agenda of the Council will be the Middle East situation. Each student will play the role of a member of the Security Council. (Current members of the Security Council are: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela. Other states which will be represented in the debate include: Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq, Iran, and the Palestine Liberation Organization as well as a Secretary-General.)

Each class member will prepare a position paper on his or her government's policy on issues relating to the Middle East. This paper may be written in the form of an internal working document prepared by a government minister as background for Security Council negotiations. Therefore the paper should include the position that the government will take on the full range of Middle East issues as well as any strategy for action in the Council negotiations. Research for these papers will require general study of the foreign policy of your country to understand how the country behaves and votes in the Security Council.

The information you discover is to be concentrated into a four-page paper (double spaced and typewritten). The policy papers may or may not include footnotes depending on your style and the type of information used, but all papers must include a bibliography of sources and documents used in preparation of the paper.

The grade for the Model Security Council project will be based on the written position paper and participation in the Council sessions. The country assignments for the Council session will be announced early in the term.

**COURSE PAPER:**
The research paper for the course will be related to the class discussion topics. The topics will be distributed during the first week of the course, and students will be asked to sign up for a topic. Only one student may select each topic.

Research for the papers can begin with the assigned readings for the course. The student working on the topic will need to study additional scholarly sources as well as make extensive use of U.N. documents to research the topic. The final product is to be a research essay answering the question raised.

The essay may be no longer than 8 pages, typewritten and double spaced. The paper must have appended a bibliography of the books, articles, and documents used. The bibliography must be annotated with a sentence telling about the content and usefulness of each item in the bibliography.

**FINAL EXAMINATION:**

A final examination with both objectives and essay questions covering all course readings and discussions will be given during the examination period at the close of the term.

**March 28 Introduction**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter I.

**March 30 Global Problems Facing International Organizations**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter II.

**April 4 United States and the United Nations**

Kay, pp. 1-43.

(pp. 1-10) Ivor Richard, "Diplomacy in an Interdependent World".
(pp. 11-16) David A. Kay, "The United Nations and United States Foreign Policy"
(pp. 17-29) Alfred D. Hero, Jr., "The United States Public and the United Nations".
(pp. 30-43) John W. Holmes, "A Non-American Perspective".

**April 6 Structure of the United Nations**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter III.
Films: "Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson", "1945".

**April 11 Constitutional Issues**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter IV.
Kay, pp. 56-92.

(pp. 56-68) Harold K. Jacobson, "The United Nations and Political Conflict: A Mirror, Amplifier, or Regulator".
(pp. 69-90) Tobert W. Gregg, "The Apportioning of Political Powers".
(pp. 81-92) Lyons, Baldwin, and McNemar, "The 'Politization' Issue in the UN Specialized Agencies".

**April 13 Historical Development of the U.N.**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter V.

**Topics:**

1. Did the U.N. Founders think they were radically transforming the international system?
2. How is the United Nations an improvement over the League?
3. Is the Secretary-General an effective global spokesman?

Film: "Portrait of Dag Hammarskjold".

**April 18 Prohibiting War and Peacekeeping**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter VI.
Kay, pp. 159-83.

(pp. 159-69) Abraham Bargman, "Nuclear Diplomacy".
(pp. 170-83) Edward C. Luck, "The Arms Trade".
*Issues*, pp. 3-22. I. Political Issues.

**Topics:**

4. Have U.N. norms on use of force and enforcement action restricted violence?
5. What models for peacekeeping for the future are now being considered by the U.N.?
6. Compare the post-1973 peacekeeping forces in the Middle East with earlier forces.

**April 20 Disarmament**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter VI.

Kay, pp. 184-220.
(pp. 184-94) Beth Bloomfield, "Strategic Arms Limitation".
(pp. 195-205) Seymour Maxwell Finger. "The Maintenance of Peace".
(pp. 206-220) David P. Forsythe, "United Nations Peacekeeping".

**Topics:**

7. What strategies for disarmament are proposed for the Special Session on Disarmament?
8. What is the political linkage between disarmament and development?
9. What political and social factors would be essential to produce disarmament?
10. How would the U.N. operate in a disarmed world?

Film: "U.N. Emergency"

**April 25 Ecological Balance**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter IX.
*Issues*, pp. 52-60.

**Topics:**

11. Impact of U.N. Standards on the Environment?
12. The operation and impact of UNEP?
13. What is the trade-off between the environment and development?

**April 27 Depletion of Global Resources**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter IX.

**Topics:**

14. Are the "limits" real or whose model is right?
15. Is the problem too many people or a few people with too high a standard of living?
16. How will scarce resources be allocated in the future?
17. What would an effective future institution for the environment look like?

**May 2 Economic Well-Being**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar. Chapter VII.
Kay, pp. 93-119.
(pp. 93-105) Sidney Weintraub, "The Role of the UN in Economic Negotiations".
(pp. 106-19) Guy F. Erb, "North-South Negotiations".
*Issues:* pp. 23-38.

**Topics:**

18. Assess the progress toward the goals of the Second Development Decade.
19. Evaluate the structure and operation of the U.N. organs for development (UNDP, etc.).
20. Should foreign aid be given through unilateral or multilateral channels?
21. How can the percentage of GNP in aid given by countries be increased?

**May 4 New International Economic Order**

Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter VII.
Kay, pp. 120-58.
(pp. 120-27) Seymour Rubin, "Transnational Corporations".
(pp. 128-41) John T. Swing, "The Law of the Sea."
(pp. 142-58) C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., "The Politics of the New Economic Order".

**Topics:**

22. What is the status of the NIEO today?
23. Should the development approach be oriented toward a "basic needs" strategy?
24. Assess the status of income distribution among and within states.
25. If development is the goal, what strategies (aid, restructuring trade, etc.) are most effective?
26. What would an effective development institution for the future look like?

Films: "The Economics Game", "TILT"
Position Papers for Model Security Council are due.

**May 9 & 11 Model Security Council Sessions**

**May 16 Social Justice**
Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter VIII.
*Issues*, pp. 39-52.
III. Human Rights and Apartheid
IV. Decolonialization
**Topics:**

27. When can the United Nations override domestic jurisdiction on a human rights issue?
28. What are the U.N. structures (Committee of 24, etc.) and techniques (economic sanctions, etc.) for dealing with human rights?
29. Assess the effectiveness of the U.N. in enforcing human rights.

**May 18 U.N. and Southern Africa**

30. What should the U.N. response be to the current situation in Namibia?
31. How could the U.N. response be to the current situation in Namibia?
32. What future strategies should the U.N. pursue in regard to apartheid in South Africa?
33. What would an effective future institution for insuring social justice be like?

Film: "Last Grave at Dimbaze"

**May 23 Evaluation of the United Nations**
Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter X.
**Topics:**

34. What criteria should be used to evaluate the U.N.?
35. Analyse public opinion on support for the U.N.
36. Analyse the sources of income for the U.N.
37. Analyse the nature of expenditures of the U.N.

**May 25 Transition Strategies for Change in the U.N.**
Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter XI.
**Topics:**

38. What is the status of U.N. efforts to revise the Charter?
39. What is the role of non-governmental organizations in the U.N.?
40. Analyse current voting power and alternative voting arrangements.
41. Analyse models for future governance of the globe (U.N. through world government).
42. What would be the powers of and restraints on a world government?
43. How might a world government come into existence?

**May 30 The Future of International Organizations**
Falk, Mendlovitz, Kim and McNemar, Chapter XII.

**June 1 Reading Day (No Class)**
Final Examination

# International Organization

**Samuel S. Kim**
Department of Politics / New York University / New York, NY 10016

Spring 1980

The main purpose of the course is to examine institutional, normative, and behavioral problems of contemporary world order politics in the context of international organizations in general and the United Nations in particular. In short, the United Nations is viewed as the main forum (and barometer) of contemporary world order politics. As a graduate course, basic knowledge about the nature, functions, and development of international organization is assumed. Much of the course centers instead on explanatory analysis of whether—and in what manner and to what extent—the United Nations has responded to the challenge of dealing with global problems and crises facing mankind.

There are many approaches to the study of international organization. The heuristic framework this course adopts is the normative model of the World Order Models Project (WOMP), a cross-cultural, transdisciplinary, and global research enterprise devoted to the realization of four planetary values: (1) the minimization of collective violence; (2) the maximization of social and economic well-being; (3) the promotion of fundamental human rights and social and political justice; and (4) the maintenance of ecological balance and harmony. Of course, other contending approaches to the study of international organization and world order will also be examined.

For bibliographical guide to travel through the jungle of UN documents, students should consult the following: *Publications of the United Nations System: A Reference Guide*, compiled and edited by Harry N. M. Winton (New York: A. R. Bowker Company/UNIPUB, 1972); *United Nations Documentation*, ST/LIB/34 (New York: United Nations, 1974); and Peter I. Hajnal, *Guide to United Nations Organization, Documentation & Publishing* (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1978). For quick retrieval of UN documents, however, *UNDEX* (Series A. subject index; Series B. country index; and Series C. list of documents issued) is indispensable.

Students should consult in the course of their study and research the following publications: *UN Chronicle; International Organization; The New York Times; Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy; United Nations Yearbook; World Politics;* annual survey volume published by UN Association of the USA (the latest one is entitled, *Issues Before the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations);* and annual report by the President to the Congress on UN affairs (the latest report is entitled, *U.S. Participation in the United Nations: Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1977*, Department of State Publication 8964).

The following books will be used as "main texts" for the course:

A. LeRoy Bennett, *International Organizations: Principles and Issues* (2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: PrenticeHall, 1980).

Louis B. Sohn, *Introduction to World Peace Through World Law* (4th ed. Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1973 (with essays by other authors).

Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System* (New York: The Academy of Political Science, 1977).

Samuel S. Kim, *China, the United Nations, and World Order* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1979).

John G. Stoessinger, *The United Nations and the Superpowers* (4th ed. New York: Random House, 1977).

In addition, the following books are highly recommended as supplementary reading for the course:

Inis Claude, Jr. *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (4th ed. New York: Random House, 1971). Although the last edition was published in 1971, this book still remains a classic. This is a must reading for the student of international organization. For those students who have inadequate background in international organization, this is the book to read.

Dennis Pirages, *Global Ecopolitics* (North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1978).

Robert L. Rothstein, *Global Bargaining: UNCTAD and the Quest for a New International Economic Order* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1979).

Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* (New York: Free Press, 1975). An authoritative guide to the WOMP approach to world order.

The reading list below is also designed as a preliminary guide to a research paper required of all students taking the course for credit. Each student should decide the actual amount of reading guided by individual background, interests, and future plans.

## I. INTRODUCTION

## II. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WORLD ORDER:

Bennett, Ch. 1.

Claude, Ch. 1

Jacobson, Ch. 1.

Falk, pp. 7-55.

Sohn, Foreword pp. 3-5; Robert Pickus and Robert Woito, "Five Approaches to World Order: the Idea and the Discussion on the U.S." pp. 65-101.

Robert C. Angell, *The Quest for World Order* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979).

Inis Claude, Jr., *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1962).

Fouad Ajami, "Third World and World Order," *Alternatives* 2 (1976): 89-111.

Robert W. Cox and Harold Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

Richard A. Falk, "Contending Approaches to World Order," *Journal of International Affairs* 31 (Fall/Winter 1977): 171-98.

Samuel Kim, "China and World Order," *Alternatives* 3 (May 1978): 555-87.

Paul Taylor and A. J. R. Groom, eds., *International Organization: A Conceptual Approach* (New York: Nichols Publishing Co., 1978).

## III. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

Bennett, Chs. 2-3.

Claude, Chs. 2-4.

Jacobson, Chs. 3-4.

Falk, pp. 56-80.

James Barros, *Office Without Power: Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond 1919-1933* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Edward Buehrig, "The Institutional Pattern of Authority," *World Politics* 17 (April 1965): 369-85.

Leland M. Goodrich, "From League of Nations to United Nations," *International Organization* 1 (February 1947): 3-21.

Gerald Mangone, *A Short History of International Organization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954).

Paul S. Reinsch, *Public International Unions* (Boston: Ginn, 1911).

Ruth B. Russell and Jeanette E. Muther, *A History of the United Nations* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1958).

F. P. A. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952, 2 vols.).

## IV. PRINCIPLES, POWERS, AND STRUCTURES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Bennett, Chs. 4-5, 15.

Claude, Chs. 5, 8-10.

Jacobson, Ch. 5.

Kay, pp. 69-80. Robert W. Gregg, "The Apportioning of Political Power".

Sydney Bailey, *The Procedure of the UN Security Council* (London: Clarendon Press, 1975).

F. T. Chai, *Consultation and Consensus in the Security Council* (New York: UNITAR, 1971).

James Barros, ed. *The United Nations:* Goodrich, "The UN Security Council" Xydis, "The General Assembly", Gordenker, "The Secretary General" (New York: Free Press, 1972).

Cox and Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence*, Ch. 11.

Robert O. Keohane, "Institutionalization in the UN General Assembly," *International Organization* 23 (Autumn 1969): 859-96.

Richard Hiscocks, *The Security Council: A Study in Adolescence* (New York: Free Press, 1973).

H. G. Nicholas, *The United Nations As a Political Institution* (5th ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

## V. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL PROBLEMS:

Bennett, Ch. 8.

Sohn, pp. 3-62. Grenville Clark & Louis B. Sohn "Introduction to World Peace through World Law".

Kay, pp. 128-41. John Temple Swing "The Law of the Sea".

Kim, Ch. 8.

Claude, Ch. 9.

Stoessinger, Chs. 1-3.

Samuel A. Bleicher, "The Legal Significance of Re-Citation of General Assembly Resolutions," *American Journal of International Law* 62 (July 1969): 444-78.

Jorge Castaneda, *Legal Effects of United Nations Resolutions*, trans. Alba Amoia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

Richard A. Falk, "The Interplay of Westphalia and Charter Conceptions of International Legal Order," in *The Future of the International Legal Order*, Vol. I: *Trends and Patterns*, edited by Richard A. Falk and Cyril E. Black (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Richard A. Falk, "The South West Africa Cases: An Appraisal," *International Organization* 21 (Winter 1967): 1-23.

Leo Gross, "The Development of International Law Through the United Nations," in Barros, *The United Nations*, pp. 171-217.

Louis Henkin, *How Nations Behave* (2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), especially Chs. 7-12.

Rosalyn Higgins, *The Development of International Law Through the Political Organs of the United Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

## VI. GLOBAL POLITICS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Claude, Ch. 15.

Jacobson, Ch. 6.

Stoessinger, Ch. 10.

Kim, Ch. 3.

Kay, pp. 1-43, 56-68. pp. 1-10, Ivor Richard "Diplomacy in an Interdependent World"; pp 11-16, David A. Kay "The United Nations & United States Foreign Policy"; pp. 17-29, Alfred O. Hero, Jr. "The United States Public & the United Nations"; pp. 30-43, John W. Holmes, "A Non-American Perspective"; pp. 56-68, Harold K. Jacobson "The United Nations and Political Conflict: A Mirror, Amplifier, or Regulator".

Falk, pp. 413-95.

Pirages, Ch. 1.

Rothstein, Ch. 1.

Inis Claude, Jr., *The Changing United Nations* (New York: Random House, 1967), especially Ch. 4.

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Martin Hill, *The United Nations System: Coordinating Its Economic and Social Work* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
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*A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (The Jackson Report), DP/5 (1969).

Ali A. Mazrui, *Africa's International Relations* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1977), especially Chs. 10, 15.

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# International Organizations

**Chadwick Alger** Winter 1980
Political Science 759 / Ohio State University / Columbus, OH 43210

The purpose of the seminar is to enable participants to acquire a comprehensive view of organizations that transcend national boundaries—governmental, nongovernmental (non-profit) and business; and to deepen understanding of how international organizations (those existing and those yet to be developed) can contribute to the solution of human problems (such as poverty, injustice, war and pollution) in the lifetime of those participating in the seminar. This will, of course, require an understanding of how international organizations (those existing and those yet to be developed) can also cause and support poverty, injustice, war and pollution.

The key unit of analysis for the seminar is the *international organization network*. The other topics are viewed as building blocks toward an understanding of how networks of international organizations, linked to national and sub-national organizations, can be constructed that are useful for solving global problems.

Readings have been chosen with several objectives in view:

1. They acquaint seminar participants with international organization activity focused on a number of global problems, such as direct investment, drugs, economic development, energy, environment, food, monetary exchange, oceans, arms race, technology transfer, telecommunications, trade, and unemployment.
2. They acquaint seminar participants with the research perspectives of scholars from a number of countries, including Belgium, Canada, Chile, Great Britain, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Uganda, USSR and USA.
3. They acquaint seminar participants not only with a number of recent books in the field but also with a number of scholarly journals.

## REQUIRED BACKGROUND

It is expected that all seminar participants have the background acquired in a basic undergraduate course on international organizations. These courses tend to focus on the UN system and regional international governmental organizations. Those who have not had such a course must quickly read an undergraduate text that provides a comprehensive overview of the activities of international governmental organizations with respect to control of large-scale violence, economic and social development, human rights and modern technology.

## GRADING

It is expected that seminar participants will: (1) attend all sessions of the seminar, (2) read all assignments before the date they are discussed in class, (3) contribute to class discussions of these readings, (4) turn in written assignments on time, (5) contribute information from written assignments to class discussion. Grades will be based on all of these aspects of participation.

## RESEARCH PAPERS

Each seminar participant will write a term paper on a global problem that is presently on the agenda of a number of international organizations. Since this global problem will be a "laboratory" in which each participant can make specific application of more general knowledge, problems should be selected that are truly global in scope and that are significant for a number of organizations. Each participant should include:

1. Description of a global problem. (Why is it a global problem? Who is affected? etc.)
2. Historical background of the problem and of international organization involvement.
3. Discussion of international organization theories relevant to the problem.
4. Overview of IGOs involved in the problem.
5. Overview of INGOs involved in the problem.
6. Overview of TNCs involved in the problem.
7. Diagram(s) of present network of organizations involved in the problem with succinct exposition.
8. Diagram(s) of future network of organizations for handling the problem with succinct exposition.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT (January 7, 9)

Pierre Gerbet, "Rise and Development," *International Social Science Journal (ISSJ)*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1977, 7-27.

Gerard J. Mangone, *A Short History of International Organization* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press Inc. 1975):"International Organization Before Napoleon," 12-33; "The Age of Consultation," 34-66;"19th Century Society and International Administration," 67-97;"The Development of International Law," 98-127.

Herbert Nicholas, *The U.N. as a Political Institution* 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975):"Covenant and Charter," 14-40;"Evolution," 41-75.

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### 2. A VARIETY OF OVERVIEWS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (January 14)

A. J. R. Groom, "International Organizations in World Society," in Taylor & Groom, eds., *International Organization: A Conceptual Approach* (London: Frances Pinter, 1978), 430-450.

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Michel Virally, "Definition and Classification: A Legal Approach," *ISSJ*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1977), 58-72.

Johan Galtung, "Non-Territorial Actors: The Invisible Continent: Towards a Typology of International Organizations." Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, Paper No. 48.

Grigorii Morozov, "The Socialist Conception," *ISSJ*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1977), 28-45.

Yashpal Tandon, "The Interpretation of International Institutions from a Third World Perspective," in Taylor & Groom, 357-380.

Anthony J. N. Judge, "International Institutions: Diversity, Borderline Cases, Functional Substitutes and Possible Alternatives," in Taylor & Groom, 28-83.

### 3. THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (January 16, 21)

Paul Taylor, "A Conceptual Typology of International Organization," in Taylor & Groom, 118-134.

R. J. Harrison and Stuart Mungall, "Harmonization," in Taylor & Groom, 169-193.

Paul Taylor, "The Idea of Coordination in International Organization," in Taylor & Groom, 195-215.

Paul Taylor, "Elements of Supranationalism: The Power and Authority of International Institutions," in Taylor & Groom, 216-235.

Paul Taylor, "Functionalism: The Theory of David Mitrany," in Taylor & Groom, 236-252.

R. J. Harrison, "Neofunctionalism," in Taylor & Groom, 253-269.

Gunnar Nielsson, "The Parallel National Action Process: Scandinavian Experiences," in Taylor & Groom, 270-316.

Paul Taylor, "Confederalism: The Case of the European Communities," in Taylor & Groom, 317-325.

George A. Codding, Jr., "Federalism: The Co nceptual Setting," in Taylor & Groom, 326-346.

Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 2 (1971) 81-117.

**THE UN SYSTEM** (January 23, 28)

Evan Luard, *International Agencies: The Emerging Framework of Interdependence* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1977).

"The Growth of International Government," 1-10;

"The Coordination of International Government," 264-287;

"The Techniques of International Government," 288-306;

(Browse through Chapters 1-15; read one chapter carefully.)

Mahdi Elmandjra, *The UN System: an Analysis*

"The UN System as an Organizational Structure: The Order of the Parts," 37-114.

**Read one:**

Martin Hill, *Towards Greater Order, Coherence and Coordination in the U.N. System* (NY: UNITAR, n.d.) 1-76.

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**Compare:**

(1) Mahdi Elmandjra, Conclusion to Ch. 2, "Programme Integration as an Output of Systemic Coordination," 194-209;

(2) Martin Hill, Part Two: "Conclusions and Suggestions," 77-115;

(3) Ronald I. Meltzer, "Restructuring the UN System: Institutional Reform Efforts in the Context of North-South Relations," *International Organization* Vol. 32, No. 4 (Autumn 1978) 993-1018.

Browse through *Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1976, Vol. 30 (Reference Room). Read material on one issue carefully.

**5. POLITICAL PROCESSES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS** (January 30, February 4)

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Chadwick F. Alger, "Personal Contact in Intergovernmental Organizations," in Herbert Kelman, *International Behavior* (New York: Holt, Reinhart, Winston 1965), 521-547.

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Peter Baehr, *The Role of a National Delegation in the General Assembly* (NY: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Dec. 1970, Occasional Paper #9).

Richard Peck, "Socialization of Permanent Representatives in the United Nations: Some Evidence," *International Organization* Vol. 33, No. 3 (Summer 1979), 365-390.

Robert Cox and Harold Jacobson, "Decision-Making," *ISSJ*, Vol. 29 (1977), 115-135.

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"The Anatomy of Influence," 371-436;
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Kurt Jacobsen, *The General Assembly of the United Nations* (Norway: Torway: The Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, 1978), 1-203.

Hanna Newcombe, Christopher Young and Elia Sinaiko,"Alternative Pasts: A Study of Weighted Voting at the UN," *International Organization* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Summer 1977), 579-586.

**6. DOMESTIC LINKAGES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS** (February 6, 11)

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Leon Gordenker, *International Aid and National Decision: Development Programs in Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 1-182.

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Lincoln Bloomfield (Rapporteur), *What Future the UN? An Atlantic Dialogue* (Washington, D.C.: The Atlantic Council, 1977).

Gene Lyons, David Baldwin and Donald McNemar, "The 'Politicization' Issue in the UN Specialized Agencies," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (1977), 81-92.

Marc Nerfin, "The United States Sanctions Against UNESCO and the Three Vetoes: Is a Democratic UN System Possible?" *Development Dialogue*, 2 (1976), 79-94.

Elizabeth Perkins and John Robinson, "The Public Looks at the UN: Implications for Foreign Policy," Oct. 1977, mimeographed.

William P. Avery and David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights, National Security, and the U.S. Senate: Who Votes for What and Why?" *ISQ*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (June 1979), 303-320.

John Goormaghtigh, *Parliamentarians and the UN: Dissemination of Information to Parliamentarians* (NY: UNITAR, 1979).

Abdul S. Minty, "Utilizing the System: A Non-Governmental Perspective," in Taylor & Groom, 414-429.

D. H. Smith, F. Verhagen, B. R. Baldwin, W. Chittick,"Role of U.S. NGOs in International Development Cooperation," (NY: UNITAR, 1978) (Paper #9).

**7. INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS** (February 13, 18)

Kjell Skjelsbaek, "The Growth of International Nongovernmental Organization in the Twentieth Century," in Keohane and Nye, *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

David Horton Smith, "The Diversity of Transnational Associations and NGOs: Variations According to Structural-Functional Types," *Transnational Associations*, 6(1979), 245-249.

Olle Dhalen, "NGO Organizations for Action," *Transnational Associations*, 1, (1978), 8-14.

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Anne T. Feraru, "Aggregate Data on Nongovernmental Organizations with Observer Status at UN-Sponsored Conferences," *Transnational Associations*, 9 (1979), 415-420.

Elise Boulding, "Alternative Capabilities for World Problem-Solving: A Comparison of Religious and Secular Non-Governmental Organizations in the Women's Sector," *International Studies Notes*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Spring 1976), 1-14 (Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, 1975), mimeographed.

Elise Boulding, "Female Alternatives to Hierarchial Systems, Past and Present: A Critique of Women's NGOs in the Light of History," International Women's Year Studies on Women, Paper #3 (Boulder, Colorado: Program of Research on General Social & Economic Dynamics, Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, 1975). Mimeographed.

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Frederick Elkin, "Voluntary Organizations at Different Territorial Levels," *Transnational Associations*, 7-8, (1979), 346-349.

**8. TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS** (February 20, 25)

Bernadette Madeuf and Charles-Albert Michalet, "A New Approach to International Economics," *ISSJ*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1978), 253-283.

Arghiri Emmanuel, "The Multinational Corporation and Irregularity of Development," *ISSJ*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1976), 754-769.

Raimo Vayrynen, "International Patenting as a Means of Technological Dominance," *ISSJ*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1978), 315-338.

Tapio Varis, "Aspects of the Impact of Transnational Corporations on Communication," *ISSJ*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1976), 808-830.

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Paul A. Tharp, Jr., "Transnational Enterprises and International Regulation: A Survey of Various Approaches in National Organizations," *International Organization*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 1976), 47-73.

**9. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION NETWORKS** (February 27)

David Horton Smith, "Inter-Organizational Networking," *Transnational Associations*, 10 (1978), 429-434.

Anthony J. N. Judge, "International Organization Networks: A Complementary Perspective," in Taylor & Groom, 381-413.

John Friend and Peter Spink, "Networks in Public Administration," *Transnational Associations*, 11 (1978), 500-504.

Anthony J. N. Judge, "Tensed Networks: Balancing and Focusing Network Dynamics in Response to Networking Diseases," *Transnational Associations*, 11 (1978), 480-483.

Anthony J. N. Judge, "System Network Complementarity," *Transnational Associations*, 9 (1977), 365-368.

**10. FUTURE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS** (March 3, 5)

Saul Mendlovitz, ed., *Creation of a Just World Order* (NY: The Free Press, 1975).

Tom J. Farer, "The Greening of the Globe: A Preliminary Appraisal of the World Order Models Project (WOMP)," *International Organization*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 1977), 129-148.

Richard Falk, "The World Order Models Project and Its Critics: A Reply," *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 1978), 531-546.

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  Ch. 8. Towards a Durable Regime for the Ocean.
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Anthony J. N. Judge, "The Associative Society of the Future," *Transnational Associations*, 6 (1979), 259-265.

Guy Poquet, "The Limits to Global Modelling," *ISSJ*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1978), 284-300.

**Other Sources:**

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Louis Rene Beres and Harry Targ, *Planning Alternative World Futures* (NY: Praeger, 1975).

Harrison Brown, *The Future Revisited: The World Predicament and Possible Solutions* (NY: W. W. Norton, 1978).

Jan Tinbergen (Coordinator), *Reshaping the International Order* (NY: Dutton, 1976).

**Other WOMP volumes:**

Richard Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds* (Preferred Worlds for the 1990's Series) (NY: Free Press, 1975).

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative* (Preferred Worlds for the 1990's Series) (NY: Free Press, 1975).

Johan Galtung, *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective* (Preferred Worlds for the 1990's Series) (NY: Free Press, 1979).

Gustavo Lagos and Horacio H. Godoy, *Revolution of Being: A Latin American View of the Future* (Preferred Worlds of the 1990's Series) (NY: Free Press, 1977).

Ali Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* (Preferred Worlds for the 1990's Series) (NY: Free Press, 1976).

## A FEW REFERENCES FOR GLOBAL PROBLEM PAPERS

**Overall:**

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**Environment:**

Brian Johnson, "The United Nations System and the Human Environment," University of Sussex, ISIO Monographs, 1971.

Catherine Dodd, "The Environmental Crisis: An International Organization Problem Network," OSU, Pol. Sci. 759, March 1977.

Irirangi Bloomfield, "UNEP and the UN System," Cambridge, MA.: Center for International Studies, MIT, 1978.

Rockefeller Foundation, "International Environmental Monitoring, A Bellagio Conference, 1977," New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1977.

David A. Kay and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, eds., "International Institutions and the Environmental Crisis," *International Organization*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Spring 1972), 170-478.

Susan Traill, "A Network in Embryo: The Habitat Foundation," *Transnational Associations*, No. 3, 1977.

Horst Rittel, "The Networking Concept of the UN Environmental Referral System" *International Associations*, 1974, p. 161.

Anne Feraru, "Transnational Political Interests and the Global Environment," *International Organization*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 1974), 31-60.

**Microbiology:**

A. C. J. Burgers, "Microbiological Programme Activities of UNESCO," UNESCO/SCP/ICSR/445-2, Paris, March 1971.

"UNEP/UNESCO/ICRO Program in Microbiology," *ASM News*, American Society for Microbiology, Vol. 43, No. 1 (January 1977), 9-14.

**Economic Development:**

Isebill V. Gruhn, "The UN Maze Confounds African Development " *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 1978), 547-568.

Leon Gordenker, *International Aid and National Decisions: Development Programs in Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Ronald I. Meltzer, "Restructuring the United Nations System: Institutional Reform Efforts in the Context of NorthSouth Relations," *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Autumn 1978), 993-1018.

**Fisheries:**

Francis T. Christy, Jr., "Transitions in the Management and Distribution of International Fisheries," *International Organization*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Spring 1977), 235-265.

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Seyom Brown, et al., *Regimes for the Ocean, Outer Space and Weather*, Chs.2, 4, 8.

**Human Settlements:**

Jean Siotis, "International Multilateral Co-operation in the Human Settlements Field," United Nations, 1975.

C. R. Meyer, "Housing in the Underdeveloped World: An Assessment of the International Effort," OSU, Pol. Sci. 651, Autumn 1973.

**Population:**

Roger Coate, "Organizing Images for Population and Development Assistance," OSU, doctoral dissertation, 1977.

Paul A. Anderson, "Population, Organizations, and Global Problem Solving," OSU, Pol. Sci. 651, Autumn 1974.

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Carolyn Shahan, "Industrialization and Inequality," OSU, Pol. Sci. 759, Winter 1979.

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Gary Gereffi, "Drug Firms and Dependency in Mexico: The Case of the Steroid Hormone Industry," *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 1978), 237-286.

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Gerard J. Mangone, *A Short History of International Organization* (NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954).

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# The International Legal Order

**Richard Falk** Fall 1978
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs / Graduate Program / Public Affairs 545/Politics 545 / Princeton University / Princeton, NJ 08540

The purpose of this seminar is to give a student with no background in legal analysis a feeling for the character of contemporary international law. As such, emphasis will be placed upon the limits as well as upon the achievements (domains of effective regulation; contribution to the realization of specified values) of international law. Attention will also be paid to links between law and politics and between law and justice.

The seminar will also make some effort to interpret the world order context of international law; shifting agenda, new actors, changing role of force, future prospects. In this regard, problems of world order, as well as rules and doctrines of international law will be examined.

Burns Weston and others, eds., *International Law and World Order, preliminary ed. 1978* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., forthcoming 1980).

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### I. AN INTRODUCTORY FOCUS: SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW:

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*Wolfgang Friedmann, *The Changing Structure of International Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 3-19, 60-71.

### II. EFFECTIVENESS AND REALITY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW:

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Gidon Gottlieb, "The Nature of International Law: Toward a Second Concept of Law," in C. E. Black and R. A. Falk eds., *The Future of the International Legal Order,* Vol. IV, pp. 331-383 (Center of International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton University Press, 1972).

H. L. A. Hart, *The Concept of Law,* pp. 208-231 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

*Stanley Hoffmann, "International Law and the Control of Force," Stanley Hoffmann and Karl Deutsch, eds., *The Relevance of International Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 21-46.

### SUBJECT MATTER AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW:

Weston, Ch. 4.

### IV. THE LIMITS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW:

Abram Chayes, *The Cuban Missile Crisis.*

William Geberding, "International Law and the Cuban Missile Crisis," in L. Scheinman and Wilkinson, eds., *International Law and Political Crisis* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1968), pp. 175-210.

*optional

Brierly, pp. 397-432 "International Law and Resort to Force".

*G. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971).

## V. A WORLD ORDER ORIENTATION:

Weston, Part II, Problems in International Law and World Order

## VI. PROBLEM 1: INTERVENTION IN CIVIL STRIFE:

Weston, Part II, Problem 5-1 Internal Conflict in Kilimanjaro

*R. J. Vincent, *Nonintervention and International Order* (Center of International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton University Press, 1974).

*R. J. Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution* (New York: New American Library, 1972).

## VII. PROBLEM 2: CIVIL STRIFE IN IRELAND:

Weston, Part II, Problem 6-1 Minorities and Terrorism.

*Roger H. Hull, *The Irish Triangle: Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

*K. Boyle, T. Hadden, P. Hillyard, *Law and State: The Case of Northern Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975).

*George Dangerfield, *The Damnable Question: One Hundred and Twenty Years of Anglo-Irish Conflict* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1976).

## VIII. PROBLEM 3: FOREIGN INVESTMENT:

Weston, Part II, Problem 7-1 Private Foreign Investment in Oceana

*Eric N. Baklanoff, *Expropriations of U.S. Investments in Cuba, Mexico and Chile* (New York: Praeger, 1975).

*Jessica Pernitz Einhorn, *Expropriation Politics* (Massachusetts, Lexington Books, 1974).

*David Mummery, *The Protection of International Private Investment* (New York: Praeger, 1968).

## IX. PROBLEM 4: LAW OF THE OCEANS:

Weston, Part II, Problem 8-1 The Sea around Antilla and Costa Grande

*Evan Luard, *The Control of the Sea-Bed: An Updated Report* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1976).

*Elizabeth Borgese, *Pacem in Maribus* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1972).

*Sreenivasa, Rao, *The Public Order of Ocean Resources: A Critique of the Contemporary Law of the Sea* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1975).

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## X. THE FUTURE OF WORLD ORDER:

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Falk, "A New Paradigm for International Legal Studies: Prospects and Proposals," *Yale Law Journal* 84:969-1021 (1975).

# D

# Peace

Problems of War and Peace
Ted Herman and Carolyn Stephenson

World Militarism: Causes, Consequences and Alternatives
Miles D. Wolpin

Contemporary International Conflict
James Mittelman

International Conflict: Trends and Patterns
Richard Falk

The War Economy
Seymour Melman

Peace Studies: The Evolutionary Perspective
Saul Mendlovitz

An Introduction to Peace Studies
Nigel Young

Peace, World Order and War
D. Lathrop

The Sociology of Peacemaking
Paul Wehr

Disarmament: A Model Syllabus
George Hunsinger

Senior Seminar in Peace Studies
George Lopez and Howard Richards

Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Action
Beverly Woodward

# Problems of War and Peace

**Ted Herman, Carolyn Stephenson** Fall 1980
Peace and World Order Studies / Colgate University / Hamilton, NY 13346

**MATERIALS TO BE PURCHASED**

Charles R. Beitz and Theodore Herman, *Peace and War* (SF: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1973). (Hereinafter cited as PW.)

C.D.I., "Soviet Geopolitical Momentum: Myth or Menace?" *The Defense Monitor* Vol. 9 No. 1 (Washington: Center for Defense Information, 1980).

C.D.I., "A World at War: Small Wars and Superpower Military Intervention", *The Defense Monitor* Vol. 8 No. 10 (Washington: Center for Defense Information, 1979).

C.E.P., "The Defense Department's Top 100", (NY: Council on Economic Priorities, 1980).

Theodore Herman, et al, *Problems of War and Peace: Book of Readings* (Hamilton: Colgate Univ., 1979).

Jo L. Husbands, "A World in Arms: Geography of the Weapons Trade", *Focus* Vol. 30 No. 4 (American Geographical Society, 1980).

Robert C. Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978).

Philip Morrison and Paul F. Walker, "A New Strategy for Military Spending", *Scientific American* Vol. 239 No. 4 (Oct. 1978).

Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1980* (Leesburg, VA: WMSE Publications, 1980).

**Sep. 10** **Introduction** (1/2 period)

**Sep. 11**

## I. WAR AS A MORAL QUESTION

Is war moral? How can violence or the threat of violence be condemned as a means of solving interpersonal conflict yet justified in the name of national defense and diplomacy? In this section evaluate the role of individual choice in the functioning of the nation-state system. Is there such a thing as a "just war"?

FILM: "Hiroshima/Nagasaki"

**Sep. 12**

Potter, "The Moral Logic of War", *PW.* 7-16.

**Sep. 15**

Horsburgh, "Critique of Armed Force as an Instrument of Justice", *PW.* 17-30.
Tolstoy, "Advice to a Draftee", *The Atlantic* (Feb. 1968).

**Sep. 16**

## II. CAUSES OF WAR

What causes war as organized violence? Some believe it is the result of innate human tendencies, while others find it is an outgrowth of economic, social and environmental factors. Still others take a third position, stating that war is an invention by which societies can gain influence, prestige and power. Where do we begin tackling the problem of reducing the need and the opportunity for war? Contrast personal with social causes of violence.

Corning, "Human Violence: Some Causes and Implications", *PW.* 119-130.

**Sep. 18**

Mead, "Warfare is Only an Invention—Not a Biological Necessity", *PW.* 112-118.

**Sep. 18** FILM: "Obedience".

**Sep. 19**
Hobbes, "Of the Natural Condition of Mankind as Concerning Their Felicity and Misery", *Leviathan* (NY: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1958).

**Sep. 22**
Niebuhr, "The Morality of Nations", *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (NY: 1932).
Barnet, "Farewell to the Nation-State", *The New York Times* (June 19, 1971).

**Sep. 23**
Wright, "The Causes of War and Peace", *Toward a Theory of War Prevention*. Richard Falk and Saul Mendlovitz, eds., (NY: World Law Fund, 1966).
Waltz, "Political Philosophy and the Study of International Relations", *Toward a Theory of War Prevention*.

**Sep. 25**
Dedijer (to be read before the film), "Guerrilla Warfare: The Poor Man's Power", *PW*, 41-49.
Pierre, "The Politics of International Terrorism", *Orbis*, Vol. 19 No. 4 (Winter 1976).

**Sep. 26**

## III. DETERRENCE AND THE ARMS RACE

First outlined in the early 1960's, deterrence theory has been the prime justification for increases in conventional and nuclear weapons for the last 20 years. Answering threat with counterthreat, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have amassed enough destructive power to annihilate one another many times over. Has this made the two countries more secure? How has the nature of the military threat evolved since the advent of nuclear weapons? Are armed threats justified?

**Sep. 26**
Morgenthau, *The Origins of the Cold War*, Gardner, Schlesinger, Morgenthau (Waltham, MA: Ginn and Co., 1970), Ch. 3.
PAPER DUE

**Sep. 29**
Carter, "Preserving Our National Security", *The Dept. of State Bulletin* (Winston-Salem, NC: Bureau of Public Affairs, Mar. 16, 1978).
Nunn, "SALT and National Security: Where Do We Go From Here?", *Congressional Record* (Nov. 2, 1979).
Ikle, "What It Means to be Number Two", *Fortune* (Nov. 20, 1978).
FILM: "Price of Peace and Freedom"
SLIDES: "John, Mary, MIRV and MARV" (Institute for World Order).

**Sep. 30**
Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence", *PW*, 74-90.

**Oct. 2**
McNamara, "Mutual Deterrence", *PW*, 91-97.
Gray and Payne, "Victory is Possible", *Foreign Policy* 39 (Summer 1980).
Fromm, "Paranoia and Policy", *The New York Times* (Dec. 11, 1975).

**Oct. 3**
Yanarella, "The 'Technological Imperative' and the Strategic Arms Race", *Peace and Change*, III.1, (Spring 1975).

**Oct. 6**
Aldredge, "The First Strike: The Pentagon's Secret Strategy", *The Progressive* (May 1978).

Dumas, "Thirty Years of the Arms Race: The Deterioration of Economic Strength and Military Security", *Peace and Change*, IV.2, (Spring 1977).

**Oct. 6**

FILM: "The War Game".

**Oct. 7**

Fallows, "Muscle-Bound Superpower: The State of America's Defense", *The Atlantic* (Oct. 1979).

**Oct. 9**

### IV. ECONOMY OF WAR

In this section we confront the issue of how vast expenditures of dollars and manpower can lead to the development of a governmental and economic-social system whose needs are largely determined by the needs of the military. How do our institutions shape our ways of thinking about war?

Galbraith, "Controlling the Military", *PW*, 333-340.

C.E.P., "The Defense Department's Top 100".

**Oct. 10**

Melman, "Ten Propositions on the War Economy", *The American Economic Review*, LXII.2 (May 1977).

Winpisinger, "Planned Economic Conversion", No. 504, a series entitled: "What's Happening to Our Country?"

**Oct. 13**

Barnet, "The Illusion of Security", *PW*, 275-287.

Morrison and Walker, "A New Strategy for Military Spending", reprint from *Scientific American* (Oct. 1978), 1-19.

**Oct. 14**

Pilisuk and Hayden, "Is There A Military-Industrial Complex That Prevents Peace?", *PW*, 288-315.

**Oct. 16** EXAM

**Oct. 17** MIDTERM BREAK

**Oct. 20**

### V. WORLD AT WAR

Our readings thus far have discussed both the present (social and economic) and potential costs of the two superpowers' nuclear capability. An awareness of the magnitude of superpower capability also increases the importance of other armed conflicts. Particularly in conflicts involving superpower intervention, the use of nuclear weapons is a possibility. What are the roles of the superpowers in the present level of world violence?

Also included in this section are several articles on the Vietnam War as an example of superpower intervention. What are the motivations (economic, social, political) for an interventionist policy? What are the risks?

C.D.I., "A World at War: Small Wars and Superpower Military Intervention"

**Oct. 21**

Husbands, "A World in Arms: Geography of the World Arms Trade", *Focus*, Vol. 30 No. 4, 1-16.

Mallmann, Tables, Arms Imports and Production in Developing Countries, *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* Vol. 10 No. 2, (1979).

**Oct. 23**

Millett, "Chronology for the War in Vietnam", *A Short History of the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1978).

**Oct. 24**
Klare, "War Without End", *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams* (NY: Random House, 1972).
Kolko, "Vietnam and the Future of U.S. Policy", *Liberation* (May 1973).

**Oct. 27**
Crichton (to be read before the film), "Our Air War", *The New York Review of Books* (Jan. 4, 1968).
FILM: "Hearts and Minds".

**Oct. 28**
Thomson, "How Could Vietnam Happen?", *The Atlantic* (April 1968).

**Oct. 31**
Sivard, *World, Military and Social Expenditures* (1980), 5-35.

**Nov. 3**

## VI. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

From the previous readings we have a basic understanding of the social and economic problems the world's dependence on military force has created. How can change be brought about, and by whom? The following section begins an evaluation of ways to reform the war system and outlines possible goals for reform efforts.

Barnet, "Promise of Disarmament", *The New York Times Magazine* (Feb. 27, 1977)
Yergin, "The Terrifying Prospect: Atomic Bombs Everywhere", *The Atlantic* (April 1977).

**Nov. 4**
Myrdal, "The High Price of Nuclear Arms Monopoly", *Foreign Policy* No. 18 (Spring 1975).

**Nov. 6**
Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace*, 29-58.

**Nov. 7**
York, "A Little Arms Control Can Be A Dangerous Thing", *PW*, 257-264.
U.S. Dept. of State, "SALT II: The Agreement in Brief".
U.S. Dept. of State, "The Reasons Why?"

**Nov. 10** EXAM

**Nov. 11**

## VII. ALTERNATIVE SECURITY SYSTEMS

What is security? Is it primarily a national or global concern? If it is global, how should policy be decided and implemented? How much must a country spend to insure an adequate defense?

UN Charter, *PW*, 265-269.
Stanford, "The U.N. as Peacemaker and Peacekeeper", *Peacemaking* ed. by Barbara Stanford (NY: 1976).
Hollister, "World Organizations and Peace", *New Call to Peacemaking* ed. by Norval Hadley (Phila.: 1976).

**Nov. 13**
Cleveland, "The U.S. vs. the U.N.?", *The New York Times Magazine* (May 4, 1975).
UNA-USA Policy Panel, "Controlling Conflicts in the 1970's", *PW*, 242-256.

**Nov. 14**
Clark, Introduction to "World Peace Through World Law", *PW*, 162-187.

**Nov. 17**
Claude, "World Government", *PW*, 188-211.

**Nov. 18**
Reardon and Mendlovitz, "World Law and Models of World Order", *PW* 152-161.
Mitrany, "The Functional Imperative", *PW* 218-227.

**Nov. 20** PROJECT DUE
Class Presentations

**Nov. 21** Class Presentations

**Nov. 24**

### VIII. NONVIOLENCE

Nonviolence is the most radical challenge to the perceived need for the use of violent force. As a political strategy, nonviolence has been used successfully throughout history. Proponents argue that it is the only way to bring about lasting change. Opponents argue that it is not feasible. Can non-violence work? Is it an end or a means to an end?

"An Introduction to Non-violence", *Fellowship* (Mar./Apr. 1980).
Gandhi, "On Non-violence", *PW* 345-348.
Gandhi, "On Non-violence", *Non-Violent Resistance* (NY: Schocken Books, 1951).
Gandhi, "Satyagraha or Passive Resistance", ibid.
Gandhi, "Some Picketing Rules", ibid.

**Nov. 25**
Horsburgh, "The Bases of Satyagraha", *Non-Violence and Aggression* (Oxford, 1968).
FILM: "Gandhi".

**Nov. 27** THANKSGIVING BREAK

**Dec. 1**
Sharp, "National Defense Without Armaments" *PW* 349-367.
Sharp, "Examples of Non-violent Resistance", *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Part One (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973).

**Dec. 2**
Schelling, "Some Questions on Civilian Defense", *PW* 368-374.
Woodward, "Towards a Nonviolent Foreign Policy", *War Resisters League News* (Mar/Apr 1980)
Deming, "Nonviolence and Casualties", *PW* 375-377.

**Dec. 4**

### IX. INDIVIDUAL ACTION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

The final section of the course serves as an introduction to various possibilities for action. How do we act responsibly for the society we live in?

Introduction, "Individual Action and Social Change", *PW* 378-381.
Walzer, "Strategic Choices", *PW* 401-404.

**Dec. 5**
Beitz and Washburn, "On Choosing a Social Change Vocation", *Creating the Future* (NY: Bantam Books 1974).
Washburn and Wehr, "Working for Peace & Justice", *Peace and World Order Systems* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976).

**Dec. 8**
Pickus and Woito, "What Can I Do: 23 Answers", *Peacemaking* ed. by Barbara Stanford (NY: Bantam Books, 1976).
Carroll, "Organizing for Social Transformation" *PW* 415-424.

**Dec. 9**
Beitz and Washburn, "Questions for Yourself and Others Working for Social Change", *Creating the Future*.
Berrigan, "The Price of Peace", *No Bars to Manhood* (NY: 1970).

# Militarismo Mundial: Fuentes? Consecuencias y Alternativas

**Miles D. Wolpin** Spring 1980
Division de Estudios de Posgrado / Facultad de Ciencias Politicas y Sociales / Ciudad Universitaria / Mexico 20 D.F.

## I. MILITARIZATION AND ARMED CONFLICT IN THE "COLD WAR" ERA

### **A. Patterns of Domestic and External War** – Week 1

Istvan Kende, "Dynamics of Wars, of Arms Trade and of Military Expenditure in the 'Third World', 1945-1976." *Instant Research on Peace and Violence* VII (2/1977), 59-67.

"A World at War: Small Wars and Superpower Military Intervention," *The Defense Monitor* VIII (Nov. 1979), 1-16.

Andre Gunder Frank, *The Arms Economy in the Third World* (Univ. of East Anglia, U.K., School of Development Studies, 1979).

Jacques Isnard, "Las Armas Actuales," *Nueva Politica* II (April-Sept. 1977), 65-70.

Jorma K. Miettinen, "El Armamento Quimico y la Bomba de Neutrones," Nueva Politica II (Abril-Sept. 1977), 71-86.

John Saxe Fernandez, "La Crisis Termonuclear," *Nueva Politica* II (Abril-Sept. 1977), 43-62.

### **B. The Failure of Disarmament and Arms Control** – Week 2

Milton Leitenberg, "El Desarme y el Control Armamentista desde 1945," *Nueva Politica* II (Abril-Sept. 1977), 5-22.

Richard Falk, *Nuclear Policy and World Order: Why Denuclearization* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #2, 1978).

*Armaments or Disarmament? The Crucial Choice* (Stockholm, SIPRI, 1979).

Michael T. Klare, "Ventas de Armas a America Latina" *Nueva Politica* II (Apr.-Sept. 1977), 317-330.

Robert C. Johansen, *SALT II: Illusion and Reality* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #9, 1980).

Richard D. Barnet, "La Imagen del Enemigo," *Nueva Politica* II (Abril-Sept. 1977), 23-42.

## II. TRANSNATIONAL CAPITALISM AND WORLD MILITARISM

### **A. Class Dimensions of U.S. Foreign Policy** – Weeks 3-4

Gabriel Kolko, "Vietnam y el futuro de la politica exterior de los Estados Unidos," en *Ciencia Social y Politica Exterior.* John Saxe Fernandez, ed., (Mexico: UNAM 1978), 15-36.

Joseph D. Collins, "Las Corporaciones globales y la politica de los Estados Unidos hacia America Latina," *ibid.*, 63-94.

Harry Magdoff, *The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of U.S. Foreign Policy* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

### **B. Class Dimensions of U.S. Military Aid** – Weeks 5-6

Miles D. Wolpin, *Military Aid and Counterrevolution in the Third World* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1973).

Gregorio Selser, "El Pentagono Impone Las Reglas del Juego," *Nueva Politica* II (Abril-Sept), 219-316.

John Samuel Fitch, "The Political Impact of U.S. Military Aid to Latin America: Institutional and Individual Effects," *Armed Forces and Society* V, (Spring 1979), 360-386.

**C. Class Dimension of Imperialism and Underdevelopment** – Weeks 7-8

James Petras, *Critical Perspectives on Imperialism and Social Class in the Third World* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1978).

Gernot Kohler, *Global Apartheid* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #7, 1978).

Raymond Duvall et al, "A Formal Model of 'Dependencia' Theory: Structure and Measurement," in *From National Development to Global Community*, Richard Merritt and Bruce Russett, eds., 1978).

David Sylvan et al, "A Formal Model of Dependencia Theory': Some Empirical Results," Paper, 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

**D. The Political Economy of Arms Transfers and Production** – Week 10

Seymour Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

Ulrich Albrecht, Dieter Ernst, Peter Lock and Herbert Wulf, "Armaments and Underdevelopment," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* V (1974), 173-185.

"Pull Factors in the Transfer of Conventional Armaments."

Herbert Wulf, "Dependent Militarism in the Periphery and Possible Alternative Concepts," in *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, Stephanie G. Neumann and Robert E. Harkavy, eds., (NY: Praeger, 1979).

## III. SOURCES OF DOMESTIC MILITARISM IN THE THIRD WORLD

–Weeks 11-13.

**A. Dependency as a Causal Factor**

James H. Mittelman, *Dependency and Civil-Military Relations* (Buffalo, NY: SUNY Council on International Studies, 1975).

**B. Class and Corporate Interests as Causal Factors**

Miles D. Wolpin, *Militarism and Social Revolution in the Third World*, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 6.

Mario Esteban Carranza, *Fuerzas Armadas y Estado de Excepcion en America Latina* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1978).

**C. Regime Vulnerability and Situational Variables as Causal Factors**

Margaret Daly Hayes, "The Military in Third World Politics: Why We Are Where We Are," Paper, 1979 meeting of the International Studies Association

"Huntington's Institutional Myth," *Review of Politics* (1979), 203-234.

Jan Knippers Black, "Political Conflict Among Brasil's Military Rulers", Unpublished paper.

Ekkart Zimmermann, "Toward a Causal Model of Military Coups D'Etat", *Armed Forces and Society* V (Spring, 1979), 387-413.

## IV. CONSEQUENCES OF DOMESTIC MILITARISM IN THE THIRD WORLD–

Weeks 14-15

Befeladi Zegeye, "On the Nature of 'Leftist's Juntas' " *Monthly Review* XXXI (July-Aug. 1979), 51-61.

Ruth Berins Collier, "Parties, Coups, and Authoritarian Rule: Patterns of Political Change in Tropical Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* XI, (April 1978), 62-93.

J. Bayo Adekson, "On the Theory of the Modernising Soldier: A Critique," *Current Research on Peace and Violence* VIII (1/1978), 28-40.

Arturo Valdes Palacio, "Militarismo y Cambio Social," *Nueva Politica* II, (Abril-Sept. 1977), 281-292.

Cynthia McClintock, *Self-Management and Political Participation in Peru, 1969-75*, (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1977).

Michael Brzoska and Herbert Wolf, "Rejoinder to Benoit's 'Growth and Defense in Developing Countries' – Misleading Results and Questionable Methods".

Miles D. Wolpin, *Militarism and Social Revolution in the Third World*, Chs. 7, 10.

## V. CONSEQUENCES OF MILITARIZATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES – Weeks 16-17.

Seymour Melman, *The Permanent War Economy: American Capitalism in Decline* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1974).

"Inflation and Unemployment as Products of War Economy", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* IX (4/1979), 359-374.

John Saxe-Fernandez, "La Dependencia Estrategia y el Petroleo", *Ciencia y Desarrollo*, 28 (Sept.-Oct. 1979), 102-112.

"Strategic Dependence and Oil in Mexican-American Relations", *Alternatives* 5 (3/1979), 329-350.

"Ciencia Social y Politica Exterior", en *Ciencia Social y Politica Exterior* (Mexico: UNAM 1978), 95-144.

## VI. MILITARISM: COUNTERSTRATEGIES AND ALTERNATIVES – Weeks 18-20

Miles D. Wolpin, *Militarism and Social Revolution in the Third World*. Chs. 5, 8, 9, 10.

"Dependency and Conservative Militarism in Mali", *Journal of Modern African Studies* XIII (4/1975), 585-620.

William M. LeoGrande, "The Politics of Revolutionary Development: Civil-Military Relations in Cuba, 1959-1976", *Journal of Strategic Studies* I (Dec. 1978), 260-294.

Richard Falk and Yoshikazu Sakamoto, *A World Demilitarized: A Basic Human Need* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #13, 1980).

# Contemporary International Conflict

**James Mittelman** Fall 1980
Political Science 256 / The City College of New York, CUNY / New York, NY 10036

The purposes of this course are: 1) to provide the student with practical knowledge about contemporary international conflict; 2) to examine contending theoretical approaches; and 3) to offer opportunity for written and oral discussion of these matters.

We will, at the outset, outline a general framework for studying conflict. Attention will be given to several forms of conflict, including disputes pertaining to energy, food, population, and nuclear armaments. Subsequent sessions will review competing world-views (classical political philosophy, realism, Marxism, and world order) and consider patterns of conflict formation. Concepts will be developed through case studies—e.g., southwest Asia, the Middle East, and southern Africa. International political economy and Third World politics will be emphasized, especially in the classes on the future world order. The course will conclude with a discussion of the prospects for a new order and strategies of transformation.

A great deal of responsibility for the success or failure of this course lies with the student. You will be expected to have completed your reading and to be prepared for discussion at each class session.

Students will be asked to write an analytic paper which calls for the application of concepts discussed in class to a concrete case of international conflict. Grades will be based on the paper, a final exam, and class participation.

## I. INTRODUCTION

On the Study of International Relations: Historical Perspectives
Conflicts: An Elusive Concept
    Quincy Wright, "The Nature of Conflict," in Richard Falk and Samuel Kim, eds., *The War System* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980), 317-333.
    Lewis Coser, "Some Social Functions of Violence," *idem*. 334-346.
    Doris Lessing, "Report on the Threatened City"

## II. FORMS OF CONFLICT

Demography, Environment, Resources, War.
    Mihajlo Mesarovic and Edward Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome* (NY: Dutton, 1974).

## III. CONTENDING THEORIES AND APPROACHES

Classical Political Philosophy
    Plato, *The Republic* (Cornford edition) Part IV, 264-320.
    Aristotle, *The Politics* (Barker edition) Book V, 203-254.
REALPOLITIK
    Machiavelli, *The Prince*
Political Economy
    William Appleman Williams, "Empire as a Way of Life," *The Nation* Vol. 231, No. 4 (Aug. 2-9, 1980) 104-119.
    Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," in Falk and Kim, eds., *The War System*. 402-455.

Harry Magdoff, "Is Imperialism Really Necessary?" *Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 237-261.

## CAUSES OF CONFLICT

The Individual

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1968), Chs. 2, 3.

Internal Aspects of the Nation State

*Ibid.* Chs. 6, 7.

The State System

*Ibid.* Chs. 6, 7.

## PATTERNS AND MECHANISMS

East-West Conflict

Michael Crozier, Samuel Huntington, and Joji Wantanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (NY: New York University Press, 1975).

North-South Conflict

Ali Shariati, "Reflections of a Concerned Muslim: On the Plight of Oppressed Peoples," in Richard Falk, Samuel Kim and Saul Mendlovitz, eds., *The Strategy of a Just World Order* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1981).

Steve Biko, "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity," *idem.* 7-13.

Robert W. Tucker, *The Inequality of Nations*, 161-201.

## CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION

The Use of Force

Gradualist Approaches to World Order

Basic Structural Change

"Intervention," a special issue of *The Nation* Vol. 228, No. 22 (June 9, 1979).

## VII. CASES

Southwest Asia, The Middle East, Southern Africa

Reading to be assigned as time permits.

## VIII. THE FUTURE

Contrasting Views

Michael Crozier, Samuel Huntington, and Joji Wantanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy*

Richard Falk, "Unravelling the Future of World Order," in Falk and Kim, eds., 635-642.

Robert Gilpin, "Three Models of the Future," in Falk, Kim, and Mendlovitz, eds., 140-163.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future of the World Capitalist System," in Falk, Kim and Mendlovitz, eds. 243-257.

# International Conflict: Trends and Patterns

**Richard Falk** Spring 1979
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs Graduate Program / Public Affairs 558 / Princeton University / Princeton, NJ 08540

This seminar will explore the main trends and patterns in international conflict. It will, in the opening sessions, seek to depict a general framework, given the features of international society. Subsequent sessions will emphasize principal patterns (e.g. East-West, North-South, West-West) and some salient cases (e.g. Southern Africa, Arab-Israeli, Iran), as well as future prospects. Considerable attention will be given to the nuclear dimension of international conflict and to the struggle for assured access to and control over critical resources and markets.

The following books will be available for purchase:

Michael Klare, *War Without End* (NY: Vintage, paper, 1972).
Jennifer Whitaker, "Conflict in Southern Africa", Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series 240.
Colin Gray, *The Geopolitics of the Nuclear Era*, paper (Nat'l Strategy Information Center, Strategy Paper No. 30, 1977).
Mary Kaldor, *The Disintegrating West* (UK: Hill & Wang, 1979).
Fritz Kratochwil, *International Order and Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1979).

## INTRODUCTION

Guy Pauker, "Military Implications of a Possible World Order Crisis in the 1980s" (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation) RAND Study R-2003-AF, V-XIV, 1-101 (Nov. 1977).
Gernot Kohler, *Global Apartheid* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #7, 1978).
Carl Friedrich von Weizsacher, *The Politics of Peril*, pp. 1-9, 105-155.

## FRAMEWORK

### 2. A Theoretical Framework

Fritz Kratochwil, *International Order and Foreign Policy* pp. 1-66.
Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977), 3-52.
Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. , 1970).
Machiavelli, *The Prince*.

### 3. Coercive Diplomacy: A Framework

T. C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), 1-34, 126-189.
Alexander L. George, ed., *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), ix-iviii, 1-35.
Richard Smoke, *War: Controlling Escalation* (Harvard U.A., 1978), 3-35.

### 4. Coercive Diplomacy: The Special Case of Nuclear Deterrence

David Gompert, Michael Mandelbaum, and others, *Nuclear Weapons and World Politics* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 1-80.
Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1974), 11-83.
T. C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, 35-125.
Philip Green, *Deadly Logic* (NY: Schocken Books, 1968), 3-92, 255-276.
Raymond Aron, *Peace and War* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 94-149.
Anatal Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience* (NY: Schocken Books, 1969), 3-75, 199-288.

### 5. Coercive Diplomacy Critique

Michael Klare, *War Without End.*

Alva Myrdal, *The Game of Disarmament* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1976), 3-10.

## III. PATTERNS

### 6. East-West Conflict

Fritz Kratochwil, *International Order and Foreign Policy* 67-219.

Colin S. Gray, *The Geopolitics of the Nuclear Era,* 1-67.

George Kennan, *The Cloud of Danger* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), 150-227.

T. K. Jones and W. Scott Thompson, "Central War and Civil Defense", *Orbis* 22 (1978), 681-712.

Jan Lodal, "SALT II and American Security", *Foreign Affairs* 57 (1978-79), 245-268.

Richard J. Barnet, *The Giants* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1977).

Jeremy Azrael and others, "An Overview of East-West Relations", Triangle Paper No. 15, Trilateral Commission, 1978.

### 7. West-West Conflict

Mary Kaldor, *The Disintegrating West.*

Samir Amin, "Toward a Structural Crisis of World Capitalism", *Socialist Revolution* V (April 1975), 9-44.

### 8. North-South Conflict

Robert W. Tucker, *The Inequality of Nations* (NY: Basic Books, 1977), 1-72, 161-201.

Albert Fishlow and others, *Rich and Poor Nations on the World Economy* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 1-83, 217-254.

Tom Farer, "The U.S. and the Third World", *Foreign Affairs* 54, (Oct. 1975), 79-97.

Mahbub ul Haq, *The Poverty Curtain* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1976).

Henry Bienen, "U.S. Foreign Policy in a Changing Africa", *Political Science Quarterly* 93 (1978), 443-464.

Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974).

Jyoti Shankar Singh, *A New International Economic Order.*

"Potential Implications of Trends in World Population, Food Production, and Climate", CIA, OPR-401 (1974).

### 9. The Geopolitical Pivot: The Middle East

"Arab Israeli Conflict", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 4, 291-384.

David R. Caploe, "The Tangled History of the Middle East", *Working Papers for a New Society* (July/Aug. 1978) p. 54.

Gidon Gottlieb in Gregory Henderson, et al, eds., *Divided Nations in a Divided World* (NY: D. McKay Co., 1974).

Bernard Lewis, "The Palestinians and the PLO", *Commentary* 59 (1975), 32-48.

Walid Khalid, "Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State", *Foreign Affairs* 56, 695-713.

John Waterbury and Ragaei El Mallakh, *The Middle East in the Coming Decade* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

Wm. Michael Riesman, *The Middle East: The Art of the Possible* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970).

## IV. CASES

### 10. The Racial Basis of Conflict: South Africa

Jennifer Whitaker, ed., *Africa and the United States: Vital Interests* (NY: NYU Press, 1978).

Jennifer Whitaker, "Conflict in Southern Africa", Headline Series, Foreign Policy Association, 240.

Hugh Tinker, *Race, Conflict and the International Order* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 1-17, 78-135.
Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom* (London: Heinemann, 1965).
B. Steven Biko, *I Write What I Like* (NY: Harper & Row, 1979).
Ronald Segal, *The Race War* (NY: Viking Press, 1967).

### 11. The Threat of Nationalism: Iran

James Bill, "Iran and the Crisis of '78", *Foreign Affairs* 57 (1978/79), 245-269.
"Iran", MERIP Report No. 71 (1978).

## V. THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT

### 12. Trends and Alternatives

Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, 257-320.
Stanley Hoffmann, *Primacy or World Order* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 103-195.

# The War Economy

**Seymour Melman** Fall 1978
Economics W3257x / Department of Economics / Columbia University / New York, NY 10027

Lectures (M 2:10-4:00) and discussions (W 2:10) are supplemented by required readings, periodic short quizzes, a final examination, and a substantial critique (10-20 pp.) of one book selected by each student from the list of options below. The following books are required:

S. Melman, *The Permanent War Economy* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1974).
*Pentagon Capitalism* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1970).
*The War Economy of the U.S.* (NY: St. Martin's, 1971).

In the readings listed below these books are identified with chapter numbers; thus PWE 5, PC 2, WEUS 10, etc.

## TOPICS AND SELECTED READINGS

1. War Economy and the Development of State Capitalism: The Great Depression and After.

Required:

PWE 1, WEUS 2, 7, 3, 6.

John Ronald Fox, *Arming America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1974), Chs. 3, 4.

Broadus Mitchell, *Depression Decade* (NY: Rinehart, 1947), Chs. 1, 2, 9, pp. 404-7.

L. P. Ayres, *The Chief Cause of This and Other Depressions* (NY: MacMillan, 1935).

S. Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (NY: Avon, 1970), 129-155, 247-271, 285-324.

Recommended:

L. V. Chandler, *America's Great Depression: 1929-1941* (NY: Harper, 1970).

W. E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (NY: Harper, 1970).

D. A. Shannon, ed., *The Great Depression* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, Spectrum, 1960).

Paul Baran, P. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1966).

2. The Arms Race

Required:

P. Noel-Baker, *The Arms Race* (NY: Oceana, 1960), Chs. 1, 2, 6, 7, 45.

C. Gray, "The Arms Race Phenomenon", *World Politics* (Oct. 1971).

A. Waskow, "The Evolution of American Military Doctrine", in S. Melman, ed., *Disarmament, Its Politics and Economics* (Boston, MA: AAAS, 1962).

H. York, *Race to Oblivion* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1970), Chs. 3, 4, 12.

H. Kahn, *The Nature and Feasibility of War and Deterrence* (U.S. Senate, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, Doc. No. 101, January 20, 1960).

Recommended:

H. York, *Arms Control, Readings from Scientific American*, Part I (SF: Freeman, 1973).

U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Trade*, 1963-1973.

R. Mead, E. Rokke, *American Defense Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1973), Ch. 2.

*SIPRI Yearbooks* (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute).
Ruth Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures* (Leesburg, VA: WMSE, 1978).
"U.S. Military Assistance and Sales", *The Defense Monitor* (Washington, DC: Center for Defense Information, May 1974).
R. Jungk, *Brighter Than 1,000 Suns* (NY: Harcourt Brace, 1958), App. B, "The Franck Report", 334-346.

3. Microeconomics of World Economics
Required:
PWE 2. PC 2. WEUS 8, 10-13.
A. E. Fitzgerald, *The High Priests of Waste* (NY: Norton, 1972), Chs. 1, 2, 3.
M. Weidenbaum, *The Economics of Peacetime Defense* (NY: Praeger, 1974), Chs. 4, 5.
L. Rodberg, E. Shearer, eds., *The Pentagon Watchers* (NY: Doubleday, 1970), Part III.
J. R. Fox, *Arming America*. Chs. 2, 5, 13. (Chs. 9-11, 20-23, optional).
Recommended:
Wm. Proxmire, *Report from Wasteland* (NY: Praeger, 1970).
C. Merton Tyrell, *Pentagon Partners: The New Nobility* (NY: Grossman, 1970).
M. Peck, F. Scherer, *The Weapons Acquisition Process* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962).
R. Kaufman, *The War Profiteers* (NY: Doubleday, 1972).
J. Gorgol, *The Military-Industrial Firm* (NY: 1969).

4. Macroeconomics of World Economics
Required:
PWE 3. WEUS 19, 14, 17.
B. Russett, *What Price Vigilance?* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1970).
Recommended:
M. Weidenbaum, *The Economics of Peacetime Defense*, Chs. 1-3.
W. Adams, "The Military Industrial Complex and the New Industrial State", *American Economic Review* (May 1968).
J. Wm. Fulbright, "Total Federal Budget Outlays by Functions..." in *The Military Budget and National Economic Priorities*. (Hearings before the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee, 91st Congress, 1st Session, June 1969), Part I, 1969, pp. 100-103.
G. Burck, "The Guns, Butter and Then Some Economy", *Fortune* (Oct. 1965).

5. Consequences of WE for Civilian Industry
Required:
PWE 4. PC 3, 4. WEUS 9, 15.
J. Holloman, A. Harger, "America's Technological Dilemma", *Technology Review* (July-Aug. 1971).
W. N. Leonard, "Research and Development in Industrial Growth", *The Journal of Political Economy* (Mar.-Apr. 1971).
Recommended:
D. Price, *The Scientific Estate* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965).
M. Weidenbaum, *The Economics of Peacetime Defense*, Ch. 10.
N. Boretsky, *U.S. Technology Trends and Policy Issues* (VA: National Technical Information Service, 1973), Chs. 2, 3.

6. Consequences of WE for Civilian Economy and Society
Required:
PWE 5. PC 8. WEUS 16, 22, 24.
"Federal Spending: The North's Loss is the Sunbelt's Gain", *National Journal* (June 26, 1976).

Recommended:

UN, Dept. of Political and Security Council Affairs, *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures*, updated report of the Secretary-General, UN (NY: 1978).

Keith L. Nelson, ed., *The Impact of War on American Life* (NY: Holt, Rinehart, 1971).

See various Hearings and Reports of the U.S. Joint Economic Committee, Subcommittee on Economy in Government, 1965-1972.

E. Benoit, "The Monetary and Real Costs of Defense", *American Economic Review* (May 1968).

K. E. Boulding, *The War Industry as a Sector of the Economy* (Reprint).

U.S. Dept. of Defense (Controller), *The Economics of Defense Spending* (July 1972).

A. Yarmolinsky, *The Military Establishment*, Chs. 24, 25.

7. Does Industrial Capitalism Require a War Economy?

Required:

PWE 10.

R. Barnet, *Roots of War* (NY: Penguin, 1973), Chs. 6-8.

H. Magdoff, *The Age of Imperialism* (NY: Monthly Review Press), Ch. 5.

M. Reich, "Does the U.S. Economy Require Military Spending?", *American Economic Review* (May 1972), 296-303.

R. P. Smith, "Military Expenditure and Capitalism", *Cambridge Journal of Economics* (March 1977), 61-76.

A. Szymanski, "Military Spending and Economic Stagnation", *American Journal of Sociology* (July 1973); and Comments (July 1974).

Recommended:

P. Baran, P. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital*.

8. Limits of Military Power

Required:

PWE 7, PC 5, PC 5.

E. L. King, *The Death of the Army*, Part II (NY: Saturday Review Press, 1972).

L. Bohn, "Is Nuclear Deterrence Necessary?", *War/Peace Report* (NY: Center for War/Peace Studies, Nov/Dec 1972).

Recommended:

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *SALT Lexicon* (1974).

"30,000 U.S. Nuclear Weapons", *The Defense Monitor* (Feb. 1975).

See annual reports by the Secretary of Defense to the House Armed Services Committee on the military posture of the U.S.

A. Waskow, *The Limits of Defense* (NY: Doubleday, 1962).

9. The Vietnam War as a Model for the Dynamics of War Economy and its Economic Consequences

Required:

PC 6, WEUS 20, 21, 23.

*Pentagon Papers* (NY: Quadrangle Books, 1971; NY Times edition). Read the chapters comprising the articles prepared by the NY Times staff on the Pentagon Papers documents.

D. Hunt, "Villagers at War: The National Liberation Front in My Tho Province 1965-1967", *Radical America* Vol. 8, Nos. 1-2 (Jan-Apr 1974).

N. Chomsky, *For Reasons of State* (NY: Vintage, 1973), Ch. 1.

N. Chomsky, *American Power and the New Mandarins* (NY: Pantheon, 1969), 323-366.

Stanford Biology Study Group, *The Destruction of Indochina* (1970).

Recommended:

M. Raskin, B. Fall, eds., *The Vietnam Reader* (NY: Random House, 1967).

M. Gettlemen, ed., *Vietnam: History, Documents and Opinions on a Major*

*World Crisis* (CT: Fawcett, 1965).

S. Melman, ed., *In the Name of America* (NY: Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, 1968).

The Economist Intelligence Unit, *The Economic Effects of the Vietnamese War on East and Southeast Asia* (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Nov. 1968).

U.S. Senate, *The Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U.S. Economy* (April 1970).

M. Weidenbaum, *The Economic Impact of the Vietnam War* Special Report 5 (Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown Univ., June 1967).

10-11. Arms Control or Disarmament: Alternatives for Security Policies, Military Forces and Budgets

Required:

S. Melman, ed., *Disarmament: Its Politics and Economics.* Chs. by Feld, Cavers, Fisher, Ritvo.

Members of Congress for Peace through Law, *The Economics of Defense* (NY: Praeger, 1971), Chs. 1, 5, 6, 8, 15.

PC Appendix C.

*Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age* (The "Gaither Report" of 1957).

S. Melman, *Inspection for Disarmament* (NY: Columbia Univ., 1958), The General Report.

D. G. Brennan, ed., *Arms Control, Disarmament and National Security* (1961), Ch. 1.

J. H. Barton, L. D. Weiler, *International Arms Control* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1976), Chs. 5, 6, 9, 10.

P. Noel-Baker, *The Arms Race* (1958), Parts 3, 4; Ch. 45.

Recommended:

R. Barnet, *The Economy of Death* (NY: Atheneum, 1970), Ch. 1

Herbert F. York, *Race to Oblivion.*

Herbert F. York, "Military Technology and National Security", *Scientific American* (Aug. 1969).

Ralph Lapp, *The Weapons Culture* (NY: Norton, 1968).

R. McNamara, *The Essence of Security* (NY: Harper & Row, 1968).

M. T. Klare, *War Without End* (NY: Knopf, 1972).

L. Bloomfield, A. Liess, *Controlling Small Wars* (NY: Knopf, 1969).

Options for Economic Reconstruction

Required:

PWE 8, WEUS 29, 30.

Report to the President from the Cabinet Coordinating Committee on Economic Planning for the End of Vietnam Hostilities, in the *Economic Report of the President* (Jan. 1969), 181-211.

J. Bergsman, *Economic Adjustment to New National Priorities* (NY: The Urban Institute, July 1971).

C. A. Trall, J. M. Starr, eds., *Technology, Power and Social Change* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1972), 1-17, 49-76.

Recommended:

C. L. Schultz, *Setting National Priorities, the 1973 Budget* (U.S. Govt. Printing Office).

E. Benoit, K. Boulding, eds., *Disarmament and the Economy* (NY: Harper & Row, 1963).

W. Leontief, "The Economic Impact of an Arms Cut", *Review of Econ. and Stat.* (Aug. 1965).

V. Papanek, *Design for the Real World* (NY: Bantam, 1973).

Engineers Joint Council, *The Nation's Engineering Research Needs 1965-1985* (NY: EJC, 1963).

13. Convertibility of WE

Required:

PWE 9. WEUS 26, 27, 32.

B. Udis, ed., *Adjustments of the U.S. Economy to Reductions in Military Spending* (Washington, DC: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1970), Ch. 12.

S. Melman, ed., *The Defense Economy* (NY: CALC, 1968), Chs. 10-12.

J. R. Cambern, D. A. Newton, "Skill Transfers: Can Defense Workers Adapt to Civilian Occupations", *Monthly Labor Review* (June 1969), 21-25.

Recommended:

S. Melman, ed., *Conversion of Industry from a Military to Civilian Economy: A Series* (NY: Praeger, 1970).

S. Melman, *Planning for Conversion of Military Industry and Military Base Facilities* (Manuscript).

U.S. ACDA, *The Economic Impact of Reductions in Defense Spending* (Washington, DC: 1972).

R. Arousan, "Effect of Federal Spending on Scientists and Engineers", *Monthly Labor Review* (Oct. 1970).

## BOOKS FOR CRITIQUE

Select one (1) book. The Critique should emphasize your evaluation of the main points made by the author. Suggested books: J. Gorgol, *The Military-Industrial Firm.* A. Yarmolinsky, *The Military Establishment.* R. Kaufman, *The War Profiteers.* R. McNamara, *The Essence of Security.* R. Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution.* F. Scherer, *The Weapons Acquisition Process. Economic Incentives.* D. Horowitz, ed., *Corporations and the Cold War.* B. Russett, *What Price Vigilance?* Members of Congress for Peace through Law, *The Economics of Defense.* M. T. Klare, *War Without End.* A. C. Enthoven, K. W. Smith, *How Much is Enough?* A. E. Fitzgerald, *The High Priests of Waste.* A. Waskow, *The Limits of Defense.* F. Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power.* N. Chomsky, *For Reason of State. The Pentagon Papers* (Sen. Gravel edition). W. F. Biddle, *Weapons Technology and Arms Control.* M. Weidenbaum, *The Economics of Peacetime Defense.* J. R. Fox, *Arming America.* R. Barnet, *The Roots of War.* B. Mitchell, Depression Decade.

# Peace Studies: The Evolutionary Perspective

**Saul Mendlovitz** Spring 1979
Ira D. Wallach Professor of World Order Studies / Columbia University / New York, NY
10027

The basic book for this course, from which the readings were taken, is a soon-to-be published introductory reader co-edited by Saul Mendlovitz and Tom Stonier (University of Bradford, UK). It is to be entitled *A Reader in Peace Studies: The Evolutionary Perspective.* Information regarding its publication and purchase can be obtained from the Institute for World Order.

## A. OVERVIEW

Week 1
- Introduction
- Tom Stonier, *The Natural History of Humanity, Past, Present and Future.*

## B. BIOSOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL BASES OF WAR

Week 2
- Johan Galtung, *On the Future of the International System* (Oslo: Peace Research Institute of Oslo Publication 25-6, 1967), pp. 305-333.
- N. Tinbergen, "On War and Peace in Animals and Man", *Science.* Vol. 60 (June 1963), 1411-1418.

Week 3
- David Hamburg, "Aggressive Behavior of Chimpanzees and Baboons in Natural Habitats". *Journal of Psychiatric Research* Vol. 8, 385-398.
- Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Psychological Preparations for War", *The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression* (Garden City, NJ: The Natural History Press, 1968), 173- 182.

Week 4
- J. Glenn Grey, *The Warriors—Reflections on Men in Battle* (NY: Harper & Row, 1970), Ch. 2, 25-58.
- Ralph K. White, "Misperceptions as a Cause of Two World Wars", *Nobody Wanted War* (NY: Doubleday, 1968), 3-26.

Week 5
- Muzafer Sherif, *In Common Predicament: Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), Ch. 5, 71-93.

## C. TWO CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS: WAR AND THE STATE

Week 6
- Robert Carneiro, "A Theory of the Origin of the State" *Science* Vol. 169 (1970), 733-738.
- Leonard C. Lewin, *Report from Iron Mountain* (NY: Dial Press, 1967), 27-55.

Week 7
- Quincy Wright "The Study of War" *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Vol. 16 (NY: MacMillan), 456-459.
- M. I. Galkin and P. I. Trifonenkov, "War", in *The Official Encyclopedia of the Soviet Union* (NY: MacMillan), 646-649.

Week 8
- Jean DeBloch, *The Future of War* (NY: Doubleday & McClure Co.), Author's Preface.
- Tom Stonier, *Nuclear Disaster.*

## D. CHANGING SYSTEMS

Week 9

Kenneth E. Boulding, "The War Trap", *The Meaning of the Twentieth Century* (NY: Harper & Row, 1964), 75-92, 100-103.

Tom Stonier, *The Abolition of Slavery: A Paradigm*

Week 10

Nathan Keyfitz, "World Resources and the World Middle Class", *Scientific American*, Vol. 235 No. 1 (July 1976), 28-35.

Burns H. Weston, "A Planet in Peril and Change: the Rationale and Meaning of World Order Education", *Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy*, Vol. 5 No. 1, (1979).

Week 11

Gene Sharp, "The Meanings of Non-violence: A Typology", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 3 No. 1 (1959), 41-66.

Richard A. Falk, "The Challenge of Transition", *Future Worlds Headline Series No. 229* (Feb. 1976) (NY: Foreign Policy Association) 46-54.

Week 12

Saul Mendlovitz, *World Order and the Problems of Values, Identities, and Community Formation.*

# Introduction to Peace Studies

**Nigel Young** 1980
School of Peace Studies / University of Bradford / Bradford, UK

*Section One: Term One*

## PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE—An Approach to Peace Studies:

This is an introduction to peace ideas and movements; the dangers of nuclear war; the theory and practice of nonviolent action; alternative approaches to conflict and change; nonviolent resistance to social injustice.

The contemporary context of peace studies will be the main focus for the course, including both (a) the concern with peace as an intellectual problem; and (b) the concern with peace as a moral or political problem. Through lectures, films, slides, some visiting speakers, student discussions, student presentation of papers, and many introductory handouts and readings—we will attempt to identify the dilemmas and possibilities presented by the peace tradition, alternatives to violence, and peace education itself.

The following is an indication of the major topics to be touched on and the main preliminary readings. Inevitably in an introductory survey course, some topics will be covered very superficially but many of them will be taken up in more depth in the second and final years of the course. Most of the readings assigned are relevant not just for this term but for the entire three years of the course.

### A. INTRODUCTION AND SOME BACKGROUND

*Readings:*

Peter Mayer, *The Pacifist Conscience* (NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966). The short introduction to this book should be read by everyone as it gives a useful overview of the ground to be covered especially in Term 2.

Arthur & Lila Weinberg, *Instead of Violence* (NY: Grossman Publishers, 1963). Collection of readings.

Aldous Huxley, *Ends and Means* (NY: Greenwood Press, 1969), especially Chs. 9 and 10.

M. Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (Boston: Beacon Hill, 1958), especially Ch. 1. (Difficult reading).

William R. Miller, *Nonviolence, A Christian Interpretation* (NY: Schocken Books, 1966).

Geoffrey Nuttall, *Christian Pacifism in History* (NY: Seabury, 1971).

G. N. Ostergaard, "Duality in Nonviolence" (article).

Gene Sharp, *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1974).

### B. THE NUCLEAR THREAT

1. *Film:* "The War Game"
2. *Lectures and Slides*
    a) Nuclear war and its effects and dangers;
    b) as a stimulus to the spread of peace research education and action;
    c) the arms race, proliferation, the arms trade, (nuclear accidents and nuclear energy).

3. *Case Study:*
Hiroshima and Nagasaki: August 1945 (Film slides and documents).
Short simple introductory (and non-academic) readings:
E. Fogelman, *Hiroshima: The Decision to use the A-bomb* (NY: Scribner, 1964)
John Cox, *Overkill* (Harmondsworth: Kestrel Books, 1977).
John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (NY: Bantam, 1959).
Robert Jungk, *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns* (NY: Harcourt, Brace, 1958).
Robert J. Lifton, *Death in Life* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1976).
D. Noble, *The War & Peace Book.*
Frank W. Chinnock, *Nagasaki: The Forgotten Bomb* (NY: World Publ. Co., 1969).

**C. THE RANGE OF RESPONSES TO THE NUCLEAR THREAT; AN OVERVIEW**

1. Deterrence/continued arms-race/the balance of terror/first-strike surprise and preemptive strategies.
2. Arms control, disengagement, nuclear-free zones, etc., conventional-defense.
3. Disarmament – multilateral/disarmament negotiations, the role of the UN, SALT.
4. Disarmament – unilateral (nuclear or total), nuclear pacifism, positive neutralism.
5. Alternative defense policies; civilian resistance (non-violent defense); conversion, diversion, and trans-armament.
6. World Federalism/World Government/United Nations/World Passports/transnationalism.
7. Peace movements, pacifism and nonviolent action (civil disobedience).

Readings:
Sean McBride, "Is Nuclear Survival Possible" (pamphlet).
SIPRI, "Yearbook on Armament and Disarmament" and "Arms Trade and the Third World".
Peter Brock, *Twentieth Century Pacifism* (NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970). A descriptive history of anti-war movements, from WW I to CND. See especially first and final chapters.
Adam Curle, "The Scope and Dilemma of Peace Studies" (booklet).
J. Galtung, (article to be distributed).
R. Angell, *Peace on the March* (NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969), on transnationalism and NGO's.
Anders Boserup & Andrew Mack, *War Without Weapons* (NY: Schocken Books, 1975).
Adam Roberts, *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense* (NY: Penguin, 1969); collection of essays and articles on nonviolent defense.
*CASE STUDY TEST* The campaign for nuclear disarmament. The Committee of 100 in the U.K. (film)

*Readings on CND:*
Christopher P. Driver, *The Disarmers* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1964).
Peggy Duff, *Left, Left, Left* (London: Allison & Busby, 1971).
Frank Parkin, *Middle Class Radicalism* (NY: Praeger, 1968).
Nigel Young, *An Infantile Disorder?* (Chapter on CND) (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977).
April Carter, *Direct Action in a Liberal Democracy.*
Responses to the Nuclear Threat (cont'd)

8. Peace education and research as a response to the nuclear threat; some key problems.
9. Radical and Revolutionary transformation of society as a response (the New Left), George Lakey, *Strategy for a Living Revolution* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1973); tactics of nonviolent change.

**D. THE IDEA OF PEACE AND THE NEED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE**

1. Are there alternatives to war and violence; is war a permanent institution? Is the question of aggression crucial?

2. Social reform: the idea of nonviolent revolution. Alternative societies. Utopian socialism. Communes counter institutions; the counter culture.
3. Direct action and the antimilitarist tradition; the general strike against war.
4. Views on peace in the New Left; using violence to overcome social injustice; wars of national liberation, terrorism.
5. The history of peace ideas, proposals and peace movements: a brief overview.
   Readings:
   Ashley Montague, *Man and Aggression* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973).
   SHREW Magazine, Special Issue: "Feminism and Nonviolence".
   George Lakey, *Strategy for a Living Revolution* (NY: Grossman Publ., 1973).
   E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973).
   Coover, Deacon, Esser and Moore, *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution* (Philadelphia: MNS, 1978).
   G. Sharp, *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives* (Boston: P. Sargent, 1970).
   Robert J. Cooney & Helen Midlarsky, *The Power of the People* (Culver City, CA: Peace Press, 1977).
   E. Fromm, *The Sane Society* (NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1962).

**E. THE IDEAS OF NONVIOLENCE** (two or three lectures)

1. Gandhi and the liberation of India.
2. The source of Gandhian ideas.
3. Nonviolence as a philosophy.
4. The successors of Gandhi in India: a) Vinoba & Gramdan; b) J. P. Narayan.
5. The critique of Gandhi.
   Readings:
   G. Ostergaard, Gandhian Nonviolence (article).
   George Woodcock, *Gandhi* (Fontana); and see also chapter on Tolstoi in his book *Anarchism* (Cleveland: World, 1967).
   Joan Bondurant, *The Conquest of Violence* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1965); on the Gandhian philosophy of conflict emphasis on political ideas.
   Richard Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence* (NY: Schocken Books, 1966); classic statement of Gandhi's ideas.
   Shridharani, *War Without Violence* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962); an attempt to fuse Gandhian and socialist/labor movement principles.
   G. Ostergaard, *Gandhi's Truth* (NY: Norton, 1970); psychoanalytic perspective.

**F. NONVIOLENT ACTION**

1. How it works.
2. Types of Nonviolence.
3. Nonviolence after Gandhi; Martin Luther King
   *CASE STUDY*: Martin Luther King and Civil Rights USA—non-violent resistance to social injustice.
   April Carter, *Direct Action and Liberal Democracy* (NY: Harper & Row, 1974); covers -60 movements.
   G. Oppenheimer & Lakey, *A Manual for Direct Action*; from Civil Rights period.
      Readings:
      Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1974); an encyclopaedic three volume study of over 200 nonviolent techniques.
      Staughton Lynd, *Nonviolence in America* (NY: Bobbs-Merrill); good anthology with an excellent introduction by a prominent American historian.
      Henry Bass, ed. by Robert J. Cooney & Helen Michalowski, *The Power of the People* (Culver City CA: Peace Press, 1977); illustrated history of nonviolent action in USA.
      Paul Goodman, ed., *Seeds of Liberation* (NY: G. Braziller, 1965); sixties anthology from *Liberation* magazine.

Martin Oppenheimer, *Urban Guerilla* (NY: Times Books, 1972): a critique of modern revolutionary scenarios.

Mulford Sibley, *The Quiet Battle* (NY: Anchor): collection of readings on nonviolent action.

Paul Hare & H. Blumberg, *Nonviolent Direct Action* (NY: Corpus Books, 1968).

## G. WAR & THE STATE

1. War as an Institution—War and Aggression.
2. A brief social history of war; war as a system of social injustice—conscription.
3. War and the origins of the State.
4. War in the development of the Nation State.

Leon Bramson & George Goethals, *War*, (NY: Basic Books, 1968); collection of Social Science readings on war and peace.

Morton Fried, ed., *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression* (Garden City, NY: American Museum of Natural History, 1968); collection of readings on war as an "institution".

Gil Elliott, *Twentieth Century Book on the Dead* (London: Allen Lane, 1972).

See Garland collection for older sociological writings on war.

Heinz Lubasz, *The Development of the Modern State* (NY: Macmillan, 1964).

Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2nd ed., (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965).

Readings

Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (NY: Free Press, 1967).

Margaret Mead, "War is only an invention, not a biological necessity" in Bramson & Goethals *War* (NY: Basic Books, 1968).

Robert Gardner and Robert Heider, *The Gardens of War* (NY: Random House, 1969); on the primitive institution of ritual war.

Franz Oppenheimer, *The State* (NY: Hebsch, 1922); early 20th century classic.

P. Kroptkin, "The State", essay.

C. Hamilton, "Introduction" to Oppenheimer, *The State*.

T. Bottomore, "Political Institutions", *Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature* (NY: Vintage Books, 1972); chapter.

W. G. Runciman, *Social Science and Political Theory* (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969).

E. Krippendorf, "The State as a Focus of Peace Research"; article.

R. Carneiro, "Theories of the Origins of the State", *Science* article.

## H. THE CONTEMPORARY PEACE MOVEMENT AND CONTEMPORARY WAR

Wars of national liberation; revolution violent or nonviolent?

*VIETNAM: A Case Study*

1. A short background to the war in Vietnam.
2. A short history of two Indo-China wars.
3. The response of the peace movements in the West: draft resistance.
4. The buddhist peace movement in Vietnam.
5. The aftermath: the peace movement and wars of national liberation.

Readings on Vietnam and the opposition to the war:

James Forrest, "The Unified Buddhist Church in Vietnam: 15 Years for Reconciliation", IFFOR John Dunn *20th Century Revolutions*.

Bernard Fall, *The Two Vietnams*, 2nd ed. (NY: Praeger, 1967).

Bo Wirmark, *The Buddhists in Vietnam*.

Nhat Hanh Thich, "Lotus in a Sea of Fire"; booklet.

B. Potter, "Vietnam? Whose Victory?"; solidarity.

D. Pike, *Vietcong* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966).

Michael Ferber and S. Lynd, *The Resistance* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

Eric Wol, *Peasant Wars in the 20th Century* (NY: Harper & Row, 1970); chapter on Vietnam.

General Readings:
N. Young, "On War, National Liberation and the State": pamphlet.
J. Swomley, *Liberation Ethics* (NY: Macmillan, 1972).
B. Daming, *Revolution and Equilibrium* (NY: Grossman Publ., 1971): essays.

## I. WAR RESISTANCE

*CASE STUDY:* World War 1914-18

1. Internationalism and War Resistance in World War I.
2. Conscientious objection—religious and political.
3. Socialism, pacifism and anti-militarism.
4. Feminism and transnationalism in WWI.
5. Class war and national war.

Readings:
James Joll, *The Second International* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974).
Peterson & Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1968).
John Rae, *Conscience and Politics* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970).
D. Boulton, *Objection Overruled* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967).
P. Brook, *20th Century Pacifism* (NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970).
G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought* Vol. III, Part 2 (London; NY: MacMillan, 1953-60).

## J. PEACE STUDY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

There is no book in which the connections between Peace Studies and Sociology is made clearly explicit; there are, however, several good collections in which relevant readings are included. One of the best is:

Frank Lindenfeld, *A Reader in Political Sociology* (NY: Funk & Wagnalls, 1968).

The work of the sociologist C. Wright Mills often dealt with issues of war and peace (e.g. his *Causes of World War III* and *Power Elite*) and his book *The Social Imagination* remains a classic introduction to the field.

See also:

T. B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society* (Harmondsworth; Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1966).

*or*

C. W. Mills, *The Power Elite* (NY: Oxford, 1956); for an introduction to the study of military elites.

# Peace, World Order & War

**D. Lathrop** Spring 1980
Philosophy 103 / Berkshire Community College / Pittsfield, MA. 01201

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|---|---|
| **Jan. 21** | Introduction |
| **Jan. 23** | The New Generation of Nuclear Weapons (two pamphlets).<br>Film: "The War Game". |
| **Jan. 25** | William James, *The Moral Equivalent of War.*<br>*Reflections on War and Morality,* Part I. |
| **Jan. 28** | *Reflections on War and Morality,* Part II. |
| **Jan. 30** | Interpersonal Conflicts.<br>Barbara Stanford, *Peacemaking: A Guide to Conflict Resolution for Individuals, Groups and Nations* (NY: Bantam, 1976), 3-27. |
| **Feb. 1** | Conflict Resolution by Negotiation.<br>Stanford, *Peacemaking,* 28-49. |
| **Feb. 4** | Conflict Resolution by Recognizing and Resolving Differences in Perception and by Behavior Modification.<br>Stanford, *Peacemaking,* 68-87, 126-139. |
| **Feb. 6** | Conflict Resolution by Nonviolent Direct Action.<br>Stanford, *Peacemaking,* 88-121. |
| **Feb. 8** | Film: "Into the Mouths of Babes".<br>Johnson C. Montgomery, *The Island of Plenty.* |
| **Feb. 11** | Violence and Aggression in Humans.<br>Stanford, *Peacemaking* 143-158, 197-203, 317-319. |
| **Feb. 13** | Peacemaking Instincts, Power Politics & The U.N.<br>Stanford, *Peacemaking,* 176-182, 326-328, 350-356. |
| **Feb. 15** | Film: "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang".<br>Jerry Elmer, *Power Plants & Weapons: The Nuclear Connection* (Council on Economic Priorities, N.Y. 1978). |
| **Feb. 20** | Nonviolent Force in Peacemaking.<br>Stanford, *Peacemaking,* 371-396. |
| **Feb. 22** | Marta Daniels, "The Soviet Threat", (reprint).<br>Film: "The Price of Peace and Freedom". |
| **Feb. 25** | Richard Pipes, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight & Win a Nuclear War", (reprint). |
| **Feb. 27** | Robert C. Aldridge, *The Counterforce Syndrome* (Holland: Transnational Institute, 1978), 1-33.<br>Film: "War Without Winners". |
| **Feb. 29** | Aldridge, *The Counterforce Snydrome,* 34-64. |
| **Mar. 3** | "The Real War in Space", a BCC documentary exploration of satellite and anti-satellite warfare possibilities and realities. |
| **Mar. 5** | Philip Morrison and Paul Walker,"A New Strategy for Military Spending", *Scientific American* (Oct. 1978). |
| **Mar. 7** | James Fallows, "Muscle-Bound Superpower: The State of America's Defense". |

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| **Mar. 10** | *The SALT II Agreement.* Vienna, June 18, 1979 (Dept. of State, U.S.A.). |
| **Mar. 12** | G.E., Energy and The Business of War.<br>John Woodmansee et al, *The World of a Giant Corporation* (Seattle, WN: N. Country Press, 1975), 1-7, 12-29. |
| **Mar. 14** | Inside G.E. and The Game of Monopoly.<br>Woodmansee, *The World of a Giant Corporation*, 30-55. |
| **Mar. 24** | PR, The Social-Industrial Complex and Changing the Corporate System<br>Woodmansee, *The World of a Giant Corporation*, 56-82. |
| **Mar. 26** | A General Electric representative has been invited to respond in person to *The World of a Giant Corporation.* |
| **Mar. 28** | Film: "Controlling Interests". |
| **Mar. 28-30** | Peace Conference at Foxhollow. |
| **Mar. 31** | Film: "We've Always Done It This Way" (The story of Lucas Aerospace workers' campaign for useful work.)<br>Marion Anderson, *The Impact of Military Spending on the Machinists Union* (Machinists Union, 1978). |
| **Apr. 2** | "Peace Conversion", *Win Magazine* (Oct. 6, 1977). |
| **Apr. 4** | *World Games Symposium* (A tape recorded session).<br>R. Buckminster Fuller, *Utopia or Oblivion*, selected excerpts, (NY: Overlook Press, 1977). |
| **Apr. 7** | Integrated Development in China.<br>Charlotte Waterlow, *Superpowers & Victims* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974). |
| **Apr. 9** | Roger Fisher, "International Conflict For Beginners", from *Peacemaking*, 50-67. |
| **Apr. 11** | W. H. Ferry, *Farewell to Arms: A Case for Unilateral Disarmament.* |
| **Apr. 14** | Robert C. Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978), 1-28. |
| **Apr. 16** | Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace*, 29-58. |
| **Apr. 18** | "Powerlessness & Crisis" from *Toward a Human World Order*, Gerald and Patricia Mische (NY: Paulist, 1978), 1-18. |
| **Apr. 23** | "Human Development and the 'Security Straitjacket'", *Toward a Human World Order*, 19-43. |
| **Apr. 25** | "The National Security State", *Toward a Human World Order*, 44-68. |
| **Apr. 26** | National March on Washington for a Non-Nuclear World. |
| **Apr. 28** | "The Powerlessness of Heads of State", *Toward a Human World Order*, 69-100. |
| **Apr. 30** | "The National Security Big Six", *Toward a Human World Order*, 101-145. |
| **May 2** | "The Soviet Security State", *Toward a Human World Order*, 146-169. |
| **May 5** | "Liberation for Being", *Toward a Human World Order*, 170-199. |
| **May 7** | "Human/Religious Values Are 'Subversive'", *Toward a Human World Order*, 200-240. |
| **May 9** | "On Conceiving a New World Order", *Toward a Human World Order*, 241-276. |

**May 12** "Strategies For a Just World Order — Multi-Issue Coalitions", *Toward a Human World Order*, 277-297.

**May 14** "Strategies For a Just World Order — Network Programming", *Toward a Human World Order*, 298-329.

## ON GRADES

The catalog description suggests that this is a course "for those with an interest in preventing World War III and in acquiring tools for taking significant steps toward world peace." Accordingly, the grading system is designed to reflect that intent.

To begin with, such a course is a serious venture, though not without some room for a sense of humor. Reflecting that seriousness, no more than three cuts will be permitted and it is hoped that none will be taken.

Perhaps the single most important ingredient in being able to think creatively about issues relating to Peace & World Order is knowledge. With this in mind, a final exam will be given covering the material for the entire course.The purpose of the exam is to encourage you to systematize and retain an overall understanding of the issues addressed in the course.

A second important aspect of effectively relating to the issues of World Peace is becoming able to free yourself from constrained thinking, while allowing your imagination to work creatively. With this in mind, a take-home exam will be given. This will involve a short essay of at least three, and not more than six typewritten pages, double spaced and with reasonable margins.

A third important ingredient in becoming able to relate meaningfully to global issues is the generation of the ability to overcome a sense of powerlessness. In this regard, you are to submit five letters, with stamped-addressed envelopes. The letters should be brief and to the point. They should address concerns that you see as related to the issues of Peace, World Order and War (and that the instructor sees in like manner). They should be written to: The Berkshire Eagle, The Rag Times, Dignitary, the Pentagon, the Secretary of State, etc. After being read by the instructor and accorded full credit, they will be mailed.

A fourth and logical final ingredient in generating the ability to diminish the likelihood of World War III and to promote World Peace is the taking of a sample action step. On a pass-fail basis, 25% of your grade will be awarded for your participation in a meaningful, Peace-related activity.

Following are some suggested types of projects. The list is not meant to be exhaustive or limiting, but rather to stimulate your imagination. Large projects would readily lend themselves to group efforts which would need to be approved by the instructor and are to be recommended as good practice for learning to peacefully and effectively cooperate with others.

Possible projects:

1. Set up and run a Peace Vigil.
2. Arrange for a special, Peace-related program for the community.
3. Set up a conference on Disarmament, and run it.
4. Set up and run a Peace-related conference of another sort.
5. Set up and run weekly letter-writing sessions involving as many people as possible.
6. Create a g roup project to research and publish literature on Berkshire County's involvement with the military. (Ref. The SANE Education Fund's report on Philadelphia.)
7. In relation to the above, draft Conversion Proposals for local industries that are realistic possibilities.
8. Organize local, area or statewide opposition to military expenditures. (Ref. Mische on "Network" activities.)
9. Have a World Peace Tax Fund Rally.

10. Arrange to speak to a local group on issues relating to Peace.
11. Sponsor a SALT II education event.
12. Attempt to help educate a specific target group on a given issue that is Peace-related.
13. Set up and run a Peacemaking/Dispute Resolution Center. (Ref. Albany.)
14. Research a special, Peace-related area of concern and draft a report.
15. Attend a Peace-related conference and evaluate and report on it.
16. Establish a local branch of a Peace-active group. i.e. CALC, WPTF, FOR, AFSC, Amnesty International, etc.)

# The Sociology of Peacemaking

**Paul Wehr**
Sociology 482 / University of Colorado / Boulder, CO. 80309

Fall 1979

## TEXTS

Anthony Sampson, *The Arms Bazaar* (NY: Bantam, 1978).
Paul Wehr, *Conflict Regulation* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1978).
Lester Brown, *Redefining National Security* (Washington, D.C.: Worldwatch Paper, 1978).
Rocky Flats Antinuclear Group, *Local Hazard, Global Threat (Pamphlet).*

**Sep. 6** Introductory Session

## PART I: ARMS AND INSECURITY

**Sep. 11** The Arms Explosion
Sampson, Chs. 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14.
Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures* (Leesburg, VA: WMSE Publications, 1979), 5-11.

**Sep. 13** The Strategic Arms Race
Videotape: "The Fatal Competition".
Gray, "The Arms Race Phenomenon".

**Sep. 18** Nuclear Deterrence: Weapons Production
Field Trip: Tour of Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant (optional).
RFAG, *Local Hazard, Global Threat.*

**Sep. 20** Nuclear Deterrence: Humble Beginnings
Film: "The First 25 Years".
Epstein, *The Last Chance* (NY: Free Press, 1976), Ch. 2.
*TERM PROJECT PROPOSALS DUE*

**Sep. 25** Nuclear Deterrence: Destabilization
M. Shapley, "Technology Creep and the Arms Race".

**Sep. 27** Nuclear Deterrence: Delivery Systems
Film: "Counterforce".

**Oct. 2** Review Session

**Oct. 4** When Deterrence Fails
Film: "The War Game".
"Analyses of Effects of Limited Nuclear Warfare" (U.S. Government Printing Office), 26-43.

**Oct. 9** The Hiroshima Experience
Lifton, "The Atomic Bomb Experience".

**Oct. 11** Student Research Panel—I

**Oct. 16** The SALT II Debate: The Issues

**Oct. 18** The SALT II Debate: The Consequences

**Oct. 23** Student Research Panel—II
*TERM PROJECTS DUE*

## PART II: PEACEMAKING AND SECURITY

**Oct. 25** Multilateral Arms Limitation and Reduction
Epstein, *Last Chance: Proposals for the Future*, 200-206.

**Oct. 30** Unilateral Arms Limitation and Reduction
Morrison and Walker, "New Strategy for Military Spending", *Scientific American* (Oct. 1978).

**Nov. 1** Student Research Panel—III

**Nov. 6** **Review Session**

**Nov. 8** Nonviolent Change Strategies
Wehr, Ch. 3.

**Nov. 13** Nonmilitary Defense
Wehr, Ch. 4.

**Nov. 15** Peace Research and Education
Wehr, Ch. 2.

**Nov. 20** Student Research Panel—IV
*INTEGRATIVE ESSAY ASSIGNED*

**Nov. 27** Economic Conversion
Film: "We've Always Done It This Way".
SEAC, *Assessment of Issues Concerning the Future of The Rocky Flats Plant*

**Nov. 29** Citizen Action
Wehr, Ch. 5.

**Dec. 4** Controlling Arms Sales
Sampson, Chs. 17, 18, 19.

**Dec. 6** Redefining National Security
Brown, all
*INTEGRATIVE ESSAY DUE*

**Dec. 11** Student Research Panel—V

**Dec. 13** Final Review and Course Evaluation

# Disarmament: A Model Syllabus

**George Hunsinger**

## PURPOSE OF THE COURSE

To achieve a basic understanding of the issues posed by the need for disarmament, to place these issues in theological and ethical perspective, and to equip students for taking action in their communities.

## PLAN OF THE COURSE

The syllabus is based on a course taught at Union Theological Seminary, during the fall semester of 1979. The class met once a week for a two-hour seminar. Each student was required to do the readings, to participate in class discussions and to submit a final paper on some aspect of one of the topics listed in the course outline.

## VIEWPOINT OF THE COURSE

The syllabus makes no pretense of being "objective," but it does try to be fair by presenting a variety of viewpoints on various issues—particularly on SALT II, the Soviet threat, nuclear power, and matters of theological and ethical reflection. Inevitably, however, judgments had to be made about what readings to assign and how to assign them. Given the scope of the course, it has not always been possible to represent widely diverging viewpoints, especially concerning third world and economic issues.

## USING THE COURSE

The syllabus is meant to be suggestive, not definitive. It is organized in such a way that it can easily be adapted to a variety of teaching situations. The amount of reading, which usually runs no more that 125 pp./week, can be expanded or contracted; some units could be dropped in favor of extending or adding others.

**Week 1. Organizational Meeting**

Film: "War Without Winner," Center for Defense Information.

**Week 2. The Nuclear Arms Race: Background**

1. To what extent have American citizens been consulted on the major decisions about the development of nuclear weapons? How has the government sought to gain public acceptance for its decisions?

2. What is the difference between the goal of "arms control" and that of "disarmament"? How does this difference affect negotiations?

3. Why hasn't the nuclear arms race been halted? What factors keep it going?

4. What is meant by "strategic deterrence"? Is such deterrence a theory or a fact?

5. Are nuclear weapons meant to be used? When has their use been contemplated in the past by the United States? If you were the President, under what circumstances would you consider using nuclear weapons?

6. What new stage is the arms race now entering? How does it differ from the previous stages?

Read:

Sidney Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday* (NY: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 1-103.

Jane Rockman, ed., *Peace in Search of Makers* (NY: Judson, 1978), pp. 12-24.

Recommended:

Frank Barnaby, "The Mounting Prospects of Nuclear War," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (June 1977), pp. 11-30.

Alva Myrdal, *The Game of Disarmament* (NY: Pantheon, 1976), pp. 66-110.

Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday*, pp. 186-217.

### Week 3. Current U.S. Strategic Doctrine, I: Deterrence vs. Counterforce

1. Define the following terms: strategic nuclear weapons, tactical nuclear weapons, minimum deterrence, counterforce, damage limitation, essential equivalence, strategic triad, first-strike capability, MIRV, MARV, Trident, M-X, cruise missile, lethality, yield, throw weight, warhead, command and control, action-reaction cycle.

2. What factors would be required for the United States to acquire a first-strike capability? Which of these factors are also required for a counterforce capability?

3. What evidence does Aldridge present to show that the United States is seeking to acquire a first-strike capability? Do you find his argument convincing?

4. Is a counterforce capability compatible with a policy of deterrence? What case can be made for and against such a compatibility?

5. What would be the political and military utility of a first-strike capability? What temptations would the Soviet Union face if the United States were to possess such a capability? What if the Soviet Union had one but not the United States? What if both countries had one? Are there any circumstances under which a first-strike capability would contribute to stability?

6. What problems do the M-X and cruise missiles pose for arms limitation negotiations?

7. Why was the Soviet Union allowed a greater number of missiles under the SALT I agreement?

8. Does the U.S. need silo-killing missiles? Should the U.S. pursue a policy of minimum deterrence?

Slide Show: "John and Mary and MIRV and MARV," Institute for World Order

Read:

Robert Aldridge, *The Counterforce Syndrome* (Holland: Transnational Institute, 1980).

Jane Rockman, ed., *Peace in Search of Makers*, pp. 32-36.

Barry Carter, "Nuclear Strategy and Nuclear Weapons," *Scientific American* (May 1974), pp. 20-31.

"Hard Running: The U.S. Has Not Dropped Out of the Nuclear Arms Race," *Defense Monitor* (Sept.-Oct. 1978). Center for Defense Information.

Recommended:

Colin S. Gray, "The Strategic Forces Triad," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1978).

Herbert F. York, "Multiple-Warhead Missiles," *Scientific American* (Nov. 1973).

Kosta Tsipis, "Cruise Missiles," *Scientific American* (Feb. 1977).

"Cruise Missiles: Different Missions, Different Arms Control Impact," *Arms Control Today* (Jan. 1978).

### Week 4. Current U.S. Strategic Doctrine, II: "Limited" Nuclear War; SALT II

1. Roughly speaking, there are two broad conceptions of "limited" nuclear war—strategic and tactical. What is the difference between them?

2. What is the "Schlesinger Doctrine," and what is its rationale? Do you think this rationale makes sense?

3. How important is it that the psychological barrier between conventional and nuclear weapons not be broken?

4. What is the relevance of the "neutron bomb" to the question of limited nuclear war?

5. What are the merits and deficiencies of the SALT II treaty? How would you vote on the treaty if you were a senator?

Read:

Sidney Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday*, pp. 104-125.

Alva Myrdal, *The Game of Disarmament*, pp. 30-50.

Sidney D. Drell and Frank von Hippel, "Limited Nuclear War," *Scientific American* (Nov. 1976), pp. 28-37.

Richard Burt, "Carter Shifts U.S. Strategy," *New York Times* (Feb. 10, 1979).

Daniel Ellsberg, "There Must Be No Neutron Bomb," *The Nation* (May 27, 1978).

J. F. Perry Robinson, "Neutron Bomb and Conventional Weapons of Mass Destruction," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (March 1978), pp. 42-45.

Carter Administration and Edward N. Luttwak, "Ten Questions About SALT II," *Commentary* (August 1979).

Robert C. Johansen, *SALT II: Illusion and Reality* (NY: Institute for World Order WOMP Paper #9, 1980).

SALT editorials from *In These Times*

Recommended:

Richard Burt, "The Scope and Limits of SALT," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1978).

Fred M. Kaplan, "Enhanced Radiation Weapons," *Scientific American* (May 1978).

**Week 5: Is There a "Soviet Threat"?**

1. With what evidence does Pipes support his argument that the Soviet Union thinks it could win a nuclear war? What do you think of the contrast Pipes draws between U.S. and Soviet nuclear doctrines? How would you evaluate Pipes' overall argument?

2. Is there reason for U.S. alarm at the Soviet military build-up? How relevant are simple numerical comparisons for assessing the military balance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union? Give some examples of such comparisons.

3. What statements about the "Soviet threat" do you think are exaggerated? What interests do you think such exaggerations serve?

4. To what extent does the Soviet advantage in throw-weight hold the potential for counterforce use against the U.S.?

5. What is the significance of the fact that the Soviet force structure seems to exceed the needs of pure defense?

6. Do you think that additional weapons could change the outcome of a nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union? Why or why not?

7. If you were a Soviet policy-maker, would you be alarmed at the U.S. military build-up?

8. What military steps could the Soviet Union take to improve relations with the U.S.? What steps could the U.S. take to do the same with regard to the Soviet Union?

Film: "The Price of Peace and Freedom".

Read:

Richard Pipes, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight a Nuclear War and Win," *Commentary* (July 1977), pp. 21-34.

Fred M. Kaplan, *Dubious Specter* (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 1979), pp. 1-40.

"The Soviet Threat: Is There a Present Danger?" *Defense Monitor* (Feb. 1977).

Boston Study Group, *The Price of Defense*, pp. 35-48.

Les Aspin, "How to Look at the Soviet-American Balance," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1976), pp. 96-106.

*Foreign Policy* Debate, "Soviet Strength and U.S. Purpose," (Summer 1976), pp. 32-52.

Fred M. Kaplan, "The Soviet Civil Defense Myth," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Mar. & Apr. 1978), pp. 14-20, 41-51.

Recommended:

"Soviet Military Doctrine," *Arms Control Today* (Oct. 1978).

Stephen A. Garrett, "Detente and the Military Balance," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (April 1977).

"Soviet Fears and Objectives: The Need for Clarification," *Defense Monitor* (May 1977).

Robert G. Kaiser, "The Nuclear Arms Race: A Soviet View," *Washington Post* (Feb. 21, 1977).

Les Aspin, "What Are the Russians Up To?" *International Security* (Summer 1978).

Bernard Brodie, "The Development of Nuclear Strategy," *International Security* (Spring 1978).

**Week 6. Nuclear War: Causes and Effects**

1. What are some of the factors which might lead to the outbreak of a nuclear war?

2. What would the world be like after a nuclear war? What short-term and long-term effects might be the result?

3. What role does fear play in the arms race as a motivation for both deterrence and for seeking nuclear superiority?

Film: "The War Game".

Read:

"The First Nuclear War Conference: How a Nuclear War Can Start," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (April 1979), pp. 20-27.

Two Scenarios for a Nuclear War, *Defense Monitor* (March 1979), pp. 4-5.

Erwin Knoll and Theodore A. Postel, "The Day the Bomb Went Off," *The Progressive.*

Bernard T. Feld, "The Consequences of Nuclear War," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (June 1976), pp. 10-13.

Recommended:

Kevin N. Lewis, "The Prompt and Delayed Effects of Nuclear War," *Scientific American* (July 1979).

Jerome D. Frank, "Psychological Aspects of the Nuclear Arms Race," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (April 1976).

**Week 7. The Meaning of Security in a Nuclear Age**

1. What is the meaning of "national security" in a nuclear age? What "myths" might be said to govern much current thinking on this topic?

2. What is the best way to avoid a nuclear war – through a strong forward defense or through the avoidance of regional conflicts?

3. What factors would be required to establish a "noninterventionist" foreign policy? What are some of the risks such a policy would entail? Would this policy mean a return to isolationism?

4. How should the defense objectives of the U.S. be viewed as absolute and finite or as relative and open-ended?

5. Where do the proposals of Ravenal and The Boston Study Group overlap and where do they diverge? How would you evaluate the differences between these proposals?

6. If you were the President, what unilateral initiatives would you consider for increasing national security?

Read:

Earl C. Ravenal, *Toward World Security* (Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 1978), pp. 3-28.

Ravenal, "The Dialectic of Military Spending," in *The Federal Budget and Social Reconstruction*, pp. 139-173.

Philip Morrison and Paul F. Walker, "A New Strategy for Military Spending," *Scientific American* (Oct. 1978), pp. 2-15.

Richard J. Barnet, "Challenging the Myths of National Security," *New York Times Magazine* (April 1, 1979).

Barnet, "U.S.-Soviet Relations," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1979).

Recommended:

Sidney Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday*, pp. 249-267.

*Peace in Search of Makers*, pp. 47-62.

Boston Study Group, *The Price of Defense*, pp. 279-290, 298-309.

Robert C. Johansen, *Toward A Dependable Peace* (Institute for World Order, 1978), pp. 1-58.

Johansen, *The Disarmament Process: Where to Begin*, pp. 5-22.

Lester R. Brown, *Redefining National Security* (Washington: Worldwatch Papers, 1978).

**Week 8. Nuclear Power: Mainstay or Menace?**

1. Where do Howe and Shinn agree in their analyses and where do they differ? Whose conclusions would you say have a greater credibility?

2. What are the dangers and unresolved questions involved in the development of nuclear energy?

3. What alternatives to nuclear energy are currently feasible? Is it realistic to reduce the options to nuclear energy vs. coal? Consider both political and technical factors.

4. Who benefits from nuclear power?

5. What cases can be made for and against the adoption of nuclear power by Third World countries?

Read:

Roger L. Shinn, "Faith, Science, Ideology and the Nuclear Decision," *Christianity and Crisis* (Feb. 5 1979), pp. 3-8.

Bruce Robbins and Roger L. Shinn, "Continuing the Discussion," *Christianity and Crisis* (May 28, 1979), pp. 136-142.

David Bromwich, "A High Standard of Dying," *Dissent* (Summer 1979), pp. 271-278.

Michael Harrington, "Nuclear Power and Corporate Priorities," *Dissent* (Summer 1979), pp. 278-280.

Irving Howe, "How Do We Know?" *Dissent* (Summer 1979), pp. 281-286.

Helen Caldicott, *Nuclear Madness*, pp. 15-110.

Richard A. Falk, *Nuclear Policy and World Order: Why Denuclearization* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #2, 1979), pp. 1-28.

Frank von Hippel and Robert H. Williams, "Toward a Solar Civilization," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Oct. 1977), pp. 12-15.

Recommended:

Dennis Hayes, *Energy Development: Third World Options* (Washington, D.C.: Worldwatch Paper, 1978), pp. 5-36.

Michael Flood, "Nuclear Sabotage," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Oct. 1976).

David J. Rose and Richard K. Lester, "Nuclear Power, Nuclear Weapons and International Security, *Scientific American* (April 1978).

**Week 9. Third World Issues: Proliferation, Arms Sales, Intervention and Revolution**

1. What are the incentives for nuclear proliferation?

2. What role do the two "superpowers" play in promoting proliferation? What role could they play in discouraging it?

3. What is the significance of India's successful underground nuclear explosion in 1974?

4. How effective is the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in monitoring nuclear reactors around the world?

5. What justifications are usually given for U.S. arms sales abroad? What forces have an interest in promoting these sales?

6. How does Pres. Carter's arms sales policy square with his emphasis on human rights?

7. What pressures exist in American life for reviving an interventionist foreign policy? Give some examples of current U.S. interventionism. What are the risks and what are the benefits of U.S. intervention?

8. Can the International Monetary Fund (IMF) fairly be described as "an instrument of financial imperialism"?

Read:

Sidney Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday*, pp. 218-248.

William Epstein, "Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," *Scientific American* (April 1975), pp. 18-33.

*Peace in Search of Makers*, pp. 43-53.

Michael T. Klare, *Supplying Repression* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1978), pp. 1-55.

Klare, *Conventional Arms Restraint* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1978), pp. 1-8.

"Intervention," *The Nation*, A Special Issue (June 9, 1979).

Theodore Levitt, "This Man Would Like to Invade the Arab Oil Fields," *New York Times* (July 4, 1979).

Sheila Ryan, "U.S. Intervention in the Mideast?" *The Guardian*, p. 13.

Recommended:

"The Decline of U.S. Power," *Business Week* (May 12, 1979).

Alan Geyer, *The Military Market: Arms Exports in Christian Perspective*, pp. 3-17.

Michael T. Klare, "The Political Economy of Arms Sales," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Nov. 1976), pp. 11-18.

Richard J. Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution* NY: New American Library, 1972).

**Week 10. Economic Issues: Social Consequences of Military Spending; Economic Conversion**

1. Are you troubled by present military budgets? Why or why not?
2. Is military spending good for the economy?
3. Who benefits from military spending? Who pays for it?
4. What are the social consequences of military spending—at home and abroad?
5. What are the functions of military spending and how do they conflict with each other?
6. How important is economic conversion? What are the obstacles it faces?
7. How dependent is your community on military spending? Is your community aware of the consequences and functions of such spending? What can you do to provide education about these matters?

Slide Show: "The Race Nobody Wins".

Read:

*Peace in Search of Makers*, pp. 25-31, 63-72, 103-118.

Sidney Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday*, pp. 156-185.

United Nations, *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race*, pp. 1-12.

Lloyd J. Dumas, "Thirty Years of the Arms Race: The Deterioration of Economic Strength...," *Peace and Change* (Spring 1977), pp. 123-134.

Clarence Y. H. Lo, "The Conflicting Functions of U.S. Military Spending After World War II," *Kapitalstate* (Spring 1975), pp. 26-44.

Richard B. DuBoff, "Converting from Military Spending to Social Welfare: The Real Obstacles," *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business* (Spring 1972), pp. 19-22.

Derek Shearer "Swords into Plowshares: A Program for Conversion," *Working Papers for a New Society* (Summer 1973).

Recommended:

James N. Cypher, "An Institutional Theory of the Military-Industrial Complex," *Kapitalstate* (Spring 1975).

Marc Pilisuk and Tom Hayden, "Is There a Military-Industrial Complex...?" in *The Triple Revolution Emerging* (Boston, 1971).

B. G. Lall, *Prosperity Without Guns* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978), pp. 1-36.

Marion Anderson, *The Impact of Military Spending on the Machinists Union*, pp. 1-16.

**Week 11. Theological and Ethical Issues: Is It a Sin to Build a Nuclear Weapon?**

1. Can the possession of nuclear weapons be reconciled with the Gospel?
2. Is nuclear warfare the extension or the antithesis of previous types of warfare? How

does one's answer to this question affect one's view of the legitimacy of possessing and using nuclear weapons?

3. In the case of nuclear weapons, to what extent if any, can the question of offensive vs. defensive *use* be separated from that of offensive vs. defensive *capabilities?* On which of these questions does Ramsey concentrate?

4. To what extent does Ramsey's targetting doctrine agree with Ravenal's? To what extent does his overall strategic doctrine agree with Schlesinger's?

5. Ramsey believes that "limited war must be *made possible*" and that "The nations of the world *should* and *can* devote all their attention and intention to making only just or counterforces war possible." To what extent does he qualify these assertions? Is such a view compatible with disarmament?

6. Is nuclear war "inherently self-limiting" (Ramsey)?

7. To what extent does Ramsey defend his assumptions that limited counterforce strikes could be "controlled," that civilian damage from such strikes could be "avoided," and that such strikes would be viable instruments for teaching the enemy the "just" rules for conducting a nuclear war? What do you think of these assumptions?

8. What arguments does Rozak present against a position like Ramsey's? Do you find them convincing?

9. What policy does Gollwitzer recommend for the church and how does he defend it? How would Gollwitzer and Ramsey respond to each other's arguments?

Read:

Richard T. McSorley, "It's a Sin to Build a Nuclear Weapon," *U.S. Catholic* (Oct. 1976).

McSorley, "Can War Ever Be Just?" *U.S. Catholic* (n.d.)

Paul Ramsey, *The Limits of Nuclear War*, pp. 7-54.

Theodore Roszak, "A Just War Analysis of Two Types of Deterrence," *Ethics* (Jan. 1963), pp. 107-118.

Helmut Gollwitzer, A Biblical Call to Nuclear Non-Cooperation," from *Sojourners: The Nuclear Challenge to Christian Conscience.*

Recommended:

Dwight Macdonald, "The Bomb: The Decline to Barbarism," in *The Atomic Bomb*, ed. by Barton J. Bernstein, (Boston 1976).

### Week 12. Theological and Ethical Issues: Militarism in Theological Perspective

1. What is "militarism"?

2. What are some ways in which Christianity has made militarism seem necessary and legitimate? How does Huber develop a Christian critique of militarism?

3. What motivational problems does Brown foresee for those who try actively to combat militarism, and how does he propose to deal with them?

4. What does Brown mean by "moral madness," and why does he introduce this term? What would be some specific examples of such madness that the church as a whole might adopt?

5. What promises and claims of the Gospel does Gollwitzer draw out, and how does he apply them to the present situation? Does Gollwitzer's theological method here conform to what Brown says about "timeless truths," to what he says about reflecting on "praxis," or to neither of these?

6. To what extent can Gollwitzer's essay be read as an extended commentary on the word of the prophet Isaiah that "justice shall lead to peace" (Isa. 32:17)?

7. Drawing from each of the readings, describe some of the generic features of idolatry and explain how they might apply to the arms race.

Read:

Robert McAfee Brown, "Theological Implications of the Arms Race," *Peace in Search of Makers*, pp. 92-102.

Helmut Gollwitzer, "Toward an Anthropology of Peace," from *Forderungen der Umkehr* (Chr. Kaiser, 1976).

Wolfgang Huber, "Militarism: Some Theological Perspectives," *Ecumenical Review* 30 (1978), pp. 163-173.

George Hunsinger, "Idols of Doomsday," unpublished paper.

Recommended:

Michael T. Klare, *Resurgent Militarism* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1978), pp. 1-14.

**Week 13. Theological and Ethical Issues: The Christian Witness to the State**

1. How do Yoder and Niebuhr differ on the relevance of Christian ethics to the "morality of nations"?

2. Yoder states: "The meaning of history—and therefore the significance of the state—lies in the creation and the work of the church." What are the theological and ethical implications of this proposition? How would Niebuhr reply to this position? Do you find this position acceptable? What if "the lordship of Jesus Christ" were substituted for "the creation and work of the church"? How would this substitution change the meaning and implications of Yoder's proposition?

3. Markus Raskin has written: "The most powerful intellectual exponent of the national security state and the cold war was the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr ... Niebuhr's ideas fit well with a time that wanted to mask its oligarchy with mass democracy ... Niebuhr justified the buildup of nuclear weapons without concern for the decaying moral effects such weaponry had on the society" *(The Politics of National Security).* On the basis of your reading how would you evaluate this judgment?

**Taking Action**

4. What are some of the ways that you can take action for reversing the arms race? What are the promise and limits of educational strategies, electoral strategies, mass-action strategies, etc.?

5. What actions, if any, would be appropriate for the church but not necessarily for the civil community in responding to the dangers of the arms race?

Read:

John Howard Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State*, pp. 9-50.

Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, pp. 83-112.

"A Call to Faithfulness," *Sojourners* statement (n.d.)

**Taking Action**

Read:

*Peace in Search of Makers*, pp. 152-154.

Daniel Berrigan, "The Price of Peace".

"Peace Conversion Action Guide," *Win* Magazine (Oct. 6, 1977).

# Topics in International Relations
# Senior Seminar in Peace Studies

**George Lopez and Howard Richards** Fall 1980
Political Science 75 / Interdepartmental 80 / Earlham College / Richmond, IN 47374

This course is an in-depth investigation of the issues of arms control and disarmament and the extent to which these issues can be integrated into efforts to construct a viable and stable peace in international affairs. For the most part we will treat specifics about arms control and disarmament in the first half of the course and questions about peace raised by those issues in the second part of the course.

## COURSE READINGS

B. Russett and B. Blair, *Progress in Arms Control? Readings from Scientific American* (SF: Freeman, 1979); (hereinafter cited as SA).
R. Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace* (Institute for World Order, 1978).
W. B. Gallie, *Philosophers of War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979).
"Readings in National Security" provided by Lopez and Richards, courtesy of the Consortium for International Studies Education (hereinafter cited as CISE).

## COURSE GRADING

### 1. The Term Project

Because there are so many subtopics under the rubric of arms control and disarmament with which we cannot deal in any depth, we believe that 40% of the course grade ought to be assigned to a project of your choosing. There are a wealth of available topics but some you might want to explore in depth include:

- chemical weaponry and control
- militarism in the Third World
- the logic of deterrence
- biological weaponry and control
- verification: current knowledge, possibilities and problems
- the U.S. (or any other country) as an arms trader
- the impact of defense spending on national economies
- the problems and prospects of economic conversion
- the link between disarmament and development
- nuclear technology and the arms race
- the Richardson arms race process and other models of arms races
- the final document of the UN Special Session on Disarmament
- research methods on arms control; arms races, etc.
- defensive oriented national systems: the Swiss, the Yugoslavs, the Austrians
- military and arms acquisition decision-making processes (to be explained in class)

Except in the rare cases where it makes sense to do otherwise, we expect the research project to be presented in a thorough research paper of 20-30 pages. Appointments will be made the week of March 31-April 4 to get you going on your topic.

### 2. Four short position papers

On the four questions posed in weeks 6 through 9 of the course. Each paper is due on a Monday, beginning with the Monday of the seventh class week. Each paper is worth 10% of the final grade.

**3. Final exam.**
This is likely to be a take home final exam covering the entire course. It will be worth 20% of the final grade and will be due during finals week.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

**Week 1:**
An examination of the parameters of the issue of arms control and disarmament. This will include perspectives of the course instructors, an examination of strategic thinking and some of the structures and processes of national security policy in the U.S.

Resources:

From CISE: Robert Art, "Military Power"; Russell F. Weigley, "The Evolution of Strategic Thought"; George H. Quester, "Strategic Nuclear Deterrence"; H. F. Scott and W. F. Scott,"Soviet Strategic Thought"; Robert Trice,"American National Security: Structure"; William R. Kinter, "American National Security: Process".

From SA: Introduction I; York, 1; Drell and Von Hippel, 12.

**Week 2:**
An Examination of arms races; proliferation and weapon-mindedness.

Resources:

From CISE: Ed Laurence, "Arms Races and Arms Control". From SA: Rathjens, 3; York, 10; Carter, 11; Kaplan, 13; Tsipis, 15; Epstein, 16.

Recommended, especially for naval warfare lovers, but not required: Scoville, 6 and Garwin, 7 (from SA).

**Week 3:**
Issues related to arms races and proliferation: the arms trade; nuclear technology and energy; economics and corporate dependence.

Resources:

From CISE: "Arms Across the Sea", selections from a Brookings Institution publication.

From SA: Intro. IV; York, 4; Rose and Lester, 17.

Lall, *Prosperity Without Guns* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978).

Selections of UN document, *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* (1976).

**Week 4:**
Negotiating Security at the International Level: the SALT process and the UN Special Session.

Resources:

From SA: Introductions II and III; Rathjens and Kistiskowky, 5; selections 9 and 19; Scoville, 14; Myrdal, 18.

R. C. Johansen, *SALT II: Illusion and Reality* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper 7, 1980).

G. A. Lopez, ed., "The UN Special Session on Disarmament: Report on a Workshop/Consultation of UNITAR and COPRED" (March 1980).

S. Lindskold, "Trust Development, the GRIT Proposal and the Effects of Conciliatory Acts on Conflict and Cooperation", *Psychological Bulletin* (1978).

**Week 5:**
Negotiating Security at the National Level: prospects for U.S. arms control and disarmament.

Resources:

From CISE: Lawrence J. Korb, "American Defense Budget Making"; Dan Kaufman, "The United States Armed Services"; Patrick Morgan, "National Security and the Democratic Process."

From SA: Morrison and Walker, "A New Strategy for Military Spending" (Oct. 1978).

R. C. Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Alternative Security System* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978).

**Week 6:**

Question: how is arms control and disarmament related to the construction of the institutional (i.e., legal) framework of peace?

Resources:

Gallie, *Philosophers on War and Peace*, Ch. 1 (Kant).

Z. Brzezinski, "Presidential Briefing on SALT II" (videotape).

Exchange between Albert Einstein and Reinhold Niebuhr in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, 1948-49.

Thesis:

"Christian realism" and its secular variants hold that we must rely on arms because the institutional framework of peace cannot be constructed because there is no consensus on justice. On the contrary, it is possible to achieve consensus on justice. This thesis will be further discussed in the following weeks.

**Week 7:**

Question: how can armaments issues be used to point out the limitations of current military and foreign relations ideologies (such as national security doctrine and behavioral social science research)?

Resources:

Gallie, Ch. 2 (von Clausewitz).

G. Lopez, "International Relations Research and World Order Modeling: Square Pegs and Round Holes?", *Peace and Change* (Spring 1978).

Harry Targ, "The Bourgeois Science of International Relations" (mimeo).

Excerpts from Henry Kissinger, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on SALT II.

Morgan, "Deterrence and Sensible Decision-making", from Morgan, *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis* (Sage, 1978).

Excerpts from Genaro Arriagada, "National Security Doctrine in Latin America", from *Peace and Change* (Spring 1980).

Game theory slide-tape show.

**Week 8:**

How can mutual understanding and cooperation be achieved between non-Marxists and Marxists?

Premise: The construction of peace requires acceptable principles as well as the satisfaction of interests. Ideology makes a difference.

Resources:

Gallie, Ch. 3 (on Marx and Lenin).

Arriagada, above (on Lenin).

Leonid Brezhnev, "On Disarmament".

Briones and Richards, Report of First Panamerican Seminar on Peace Research.

Richards, "Capitalism". (unpublished)

**Week 9:**

How do pacifism and a personal commitment to nonviolence, e.g., in draft resistance, build peace?

Note: This question is separate from the question whether draft resistance is justified, since it might be justified on some ground different from the claim that it builds peace.

Resources:

Gallie, Ch. 4 (on Tolstoy).

Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud, "Why War?"

John Rawls, "On the Justification of Civil Disobedience".

# Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Action

**Beverly Woodward** Fall 1980

This is a conceptual framework for an introductory course in the theory and practice of nonviolent action. It builds on elements of courses I have taught at Earlham College and Harvard University. The course can be taught from a secular or from a religious perspective (e.g. in a political science program or in a religion department). The assigned readings will vary accordingly. An updated bibliography (in preparation at press time) will contain readings for both approaches and will be available from the Institute for World Order.

A general introduction to the theory and practice of nonviolent action should acquaint the student with the following topics: 1) what nonviolent action is; 2) why it is chosen; 3) the various possible objectives of nonviolent action; 4)how it works; 5) examples of nonviolent action, past and present; 6) nonviolent revolution; and 7) linking personal change and political change through nonviolent action. The following suggests the type of questions and issues to be discussed under each of these main topics.

### What Nonviolent Action is.

There are different definitions and understandings of what nonviolent action is. Several views should be studied. Often the term "nonviolent action" is used to refer to action that is nonviolent in circumstances where one might expect violence to be used; nonviolent action may be equated with nonviolent political action outside the usual legislative channels. Terms and concepts linked to nonviolent action that might be discussed: violence, structural violence, nonviolence, force, power, coercion, civil disobedience, satyagraha, passive resistance, nonresistance, direct action, mediation, reconciliation, non-injury, etc.

### Why Nonviolent Action is Chosen.

Principled and tactical reasons for choosing nonviolent action. The similarities and differences between these perspectives. Similarities and differences between religious and secular ethical perspectives with respect to the choice of nonviolent action. Situational ethical arguments in favor of nonviolent actions vs. systemic arguments (i .e., arguments dealing with the nature of the violence system—or war system—as a whole). To understand arguments for and against nonviolent action, it is useful to look at arguments and institutions that legitimize violence, e.g., the role of the State, just war theory, arguments in favor of capital punishment, etc. Discuss: does the choice of nonviolent action either as a tactical matter or as a commitment imply a particular view of human nature?

### Various Possible Objectives of Nonviolent Action.

Nonviolent action may be used for a wide range of purposes, not all of them necessarily "progressive." Nonviolent action may be aimed at reform or at major structural change. Nonviolent action may be used to resist an existing practice or institution or to bring into being a new practice or institution. Readings and audio-visual materials may be used to illustrate the wide range of objectives for which nonviolent action has been used. For example, nonviolent action has been used:

| *for* | *against* |
|---|---|
| *right to strike* | *conscription* |
| *freedom of speech* | *slavery* |
| *safer working conditions* | *caste system* |
| *equal rights for races/sexes* | *cow slaughter* |
| *right to vote* | *foreign occupation* |
| *better schools* | *a particular regime (right, left or other)* |
| *disarmament/abolition of war* | *capital punishment* |
| | *a particular war* |

**How Nonviolent Action Works.**
Accommodation; persuasion; coercion—their role in nonviolent action. The stages of a nonviolent action campaign. (Research and fact-finding; negotiations; public education and the winning of allies; organization; training and preparation; issuing ultimatum re intentions; direct action.) Analyze some nonviolent campaigns: what appears to have accounted for their success or lack of success? One might also analyze some forms of nonviolent action other than direct action, e.g., unarmed peacekeeping, nonviolent mediation in situations of conflict. What steps are involved? Study cases to understand the pattern of action that is involved and to see how and when these forms of action appear to produce positive results.

**Examples of Nonviolent Action—Past and Present.**
This unit need not be a separate unit. It can be combined with the other units mentioned here. Although nonviolent campaigns of Gandhi and Martin Luther king, Jr. are probably the best known, there is a much wider range of campaigns and movements from the past and present that can be studied for their own sake and/or to illustrate some more general points about nonviolent action. (Many are mentioned in Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* and in the 1978 War Resisters League calendar *Nonviolent Struggle Around the World*, but these are not the only sources.)

**Nonviolent "Revolution".**
The study of programs for major structural change through nonviolent action: early Christianity (arguably), Gandhi, A. J. Muste, G. Lakey, B. Woodward, War Resisters International, Movement for a New Society. Study of institutional changes necessary for a nonviolent world order: e.g., unarmed peacekeeping; civilian defense; non-exploitative economic order; institutions to mediate disputes, protect human rights, prevent environmental abuse, etc.

**Linking Personal and Political Change Through Nonviolent Action.**
How to connect the process of creating a nonviolent lifestyle and small nonviolent communities to the process of largescale world order change. Ways in which these two kinds of change can support each other.

**E**

# Economic Development and Well-Being

Ethics of Development in a Global Environment
Ken Cooper, Malcolm McWhorter and Catherine Gamon

The Third World's Quest for Justice
Denis Goulet

International Development: Theoretical Perspectives and Applied Issues
Alan Amey and Timothy Shaw

Legal Obligations Under the New International Economic Order
Robert Bard

Natural Resources in the World Economy: Control and Conflict
J. Barnard

Political Economy of the Third World
James Mittelman

The International Political Economy of the Third World
Cheryl Christensen

Diet for a Small Planet
Gigi Berardi

Economics of Peace
Sushila Gidwani

The Transformation of Military Technological Development and Production to a Civilian and Human Needs Focus
Steven M. Slaby

# Ethics of Development in a Global Environment

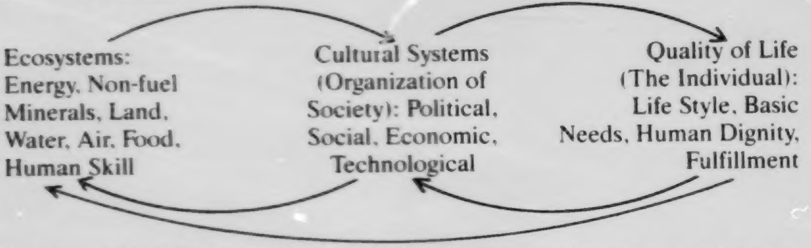
**Core Faculty:**
**Ken Cooper (Int'l Center) / Richard Fagen (Pol. Sci.) / Edmundo Fuenzalida (Educ./SIDEC) / Bruce Lusignan (Elec. Engr.) / Bernard Siegel (Anth.) / Robert Textor (Anth. & Educ.)**
**Coordinators:**
**Ken Cooper, Malcolm McWhorter, Catherine Gamon.** 1980/81
Anth. 133, Educ. 274, Engr. 297, Grad. Spec. 297, Pol. Sci. 140, Soc. Thought 197 / Stanford University / Stanford, CA 94305

Ethics of Development in a Global Environment (EDGE) is an interdisciplinary course offered in three parts (autumn, winter, and spring quarters) designed to be sequential, (i.e. progressive through the 3 quarters) and yet with each quarter more or less self-sufficient for those students who are not able to participate in all three quarters.

We examine the purposes, processes and results of development as defined and expressed in different societies. The course attempts to confront the kinds of issues that we all must face as we try to apply our academic insights and skills to outstanding social, political, economic and technological problems of the societies in which we live. It addresses the need for linkage between the necessary specialization of academics and the inherently interdisciplinary and problem-oriented nature of our living societies.

What are the critical issues that we cannot ignore if we want to understand global development? We are interested in the interactions and interdependencies involving population size, availability of natural resources, and the manner in which people, using various forms of technology and economic and political systems, gain access to, make use of, control and distribute those resources.

Development strategies are viewed with a recognition of the need for improvement in the quality of life within nations and among nations while also recognizing limitations of the earth's physical life support system and the constraints of cultural systems.



I. How do societies "choose" development strategies? Development for what, for whom, by whom? How is quality of life (QoL) defined, controlled, and distributed?

II. How might societies utilize the ecosystem (resources/environment) through their cultural systems (social, political, economic, technological organizations and institutions) to make development strategies successful?

III. How can societies prepare to cope with two dominant forces: demand for improved QoL and greater social equity, and increasing pressures on the earth's physical limits? As more people in the world need and desire a better quality of life an ever greater demand is going to be placed upon the earth's finite life support system (resources and environment) and on our social institutions (for more equitable access to resources).

IV. What are the world's resource systems, who controls them, and how are they operated?

We ask both the faculty and the students to focus hard on the ethical component. Each week faculty specialists from engineering, political science, economics, education, and the behavioral sciences present their own particular views of development; relate their views to the EDGE course objectives and to the EDGE syllabus; confront the ethical issues that touch their particular fields; and project their analyses into the future. The course is designed to explore *new* approaches to development, to ask questions in ways that might allow for novel solutions to nagging problems, and to encourage discussions that transcend traditional short-term, ethnocentric approaches to development. The subject of ethics is difficult since daily issues are faced on a personal or subjective level, while the problems themselves are often deeply embedded in the institutional structures of societies.

In this course that emphasizes the linkage between academics and society we try to isolate some of the most commonly accepted views about what needs to be done in the world today (and over the next few years) to address what has been referred to as the "global problematique". Why is there so little movement toward solving some of the world's most glaring problems? There is substantial agreement on what the problems are. There is even a surprising agreement on how the world *ought* to look in the future. An example of such agreement among a diverse group of present world leaders is clearly expressed in the book *North-South, a Program for Survival.* This report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt will be used this year in EDGE as an example of one group's comprehensive picture of what is wrong with the world today and how it should look in the future.

*North-South* can serve as a base line for our lecturers, reading, and workshops. Do you agree with *North-South's* picture of what is wrong in the world today, how it got that way, and what the world ought to look like in the future? Where do you disagree? More importantly, where there is substantial agreement with specific steps recommended by the Brandt Commission* we will focus most of the course's attention on why there has been so little done, so little being done today, to implement these recommendations. What are the constraints? Are they grounded in "human nature", in irreversible cultural evolution, in the evils of power, in "lifeboat ethics", or in ignorance, complexity, and confusion?

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*There is considerable overlap between the *North-South* recommendations and those that can be found in a number of earlier works (*RIO, Mankind at the Turning Point, The 29th Day, U.S. and World Development, Another Development, The Conserver Society, Creating Alternative Futures, World Futures,* and others; although *North-South* places greater emphasis upon and confidence in conventional, liberal, growth-oriented development.

### SOME ORGANIZING THOUGHTS

As we plan

As most populations increase,

As cities double and quadruple in size,

As costs of energy and other basic resources rise,

As new technologies offer both hopes and threats for humankind,

As there is a growing acceptance that there must be movement toward greater equity among nations and within nations (a need to reduce the rich-poor gap),

As people wonder about the meaningfulness and fulfillment of their own lives, and how (and whether) they should try to participate in the workings of their own societies,

What kinds of development will be most appropriate? For whom, and when? How?

What are the barriers? Can they be removed?

How are quality of life and development interrelated?

Can traditional growth-oriented development continue? Growth in what?

Is continued growth in rich countries an aid or a hindrance to development in poor countries?

How does balanced development relate to the problem of equity within and among nations? (Balanced development may be defined as moving toward an optimum quality of life that is equitable and sustainable while not exceeding the carrying capacity of the physical environment.)

How might balanced development for developing countries differ from balanced development for highly industrialized countries?

### MOTIVATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The above questions are a few among many that have stimulated the development of the EDGE program and motivated us to offer this course. The questions raised and the array of topics listed for Autumn and Winter Quarters suggest the broad parameters within which we will be working. They cover a wide range of concerns and certainly not every aspect of the topics will be addressed through the lectures. This syllabus should be considered as one attempt to conceptualize a comprehensive approach to the field we call the "ethics of development in a global environment". Some of the questions raised and the topics suggested in the syllabus will be covered in the lectures, while readings will be suggested to help fill the major gaps.

But success in this course will depend on how well you and we discuss the ethics of development in ways that relate effectively to your own personal values, career goals, and concerns about society. It will be up to you to use the resources of EDGE productively and it will require concerted effort on your part to identify and clarify the dominant themes and expose unethical positions.

### SCHEDULE

The Autumn and Winter Quarters presented here will involve lectures, readings and optional small group workshops. The Autumn Quarter will stress global and nation-state perspectives on development with Winter Quarter viewing development from the perspective of the individual.

### COURSE PROCEDURES/CREDIT

You have two alternatives: you receive 1 unit credit for the lecture or 4 units for attending both the lecture and the two-hour workshop.

*Lectures* with a question and discussion period will meet once for two hours each week. A 4-page essay or weekly journal will be required from all 1-unit students.

Workshops will meet weekly for two hours. A paper not to exceed 20 pages or an equivalent portion of a group project will be required. Each workshop will consist of a faculty member and/or teaching assistant from the EDGE staff and not more than 10 students. Workshops are designed to provide students with opportunities to work together in interdisciplinary groups on practical projects related to a variety of local, national, and international development issues. Students will have several options.

EDGE Core Workshop (several sections will be available)
  Review, analysis, critique of course lectures and readings.
Specialized Workshops:
  Technology and the Ethics of Development (McWhorter/Lusignan Engineering)
  North-South, A Program for Survival (Fuenzalida-Development Educatior
  Ethnographic Futures (Textor-Education/Anthropology)
  The Media and International Development (Balakrishnan-Communication)
  Values, Culture Change and the Ethics of Development (CooperAnthro/Int'l Center).

## Autumn Quarter—1980
## Global and Nation-State Perspectives on Development

**Readings**

Required:

Willy Brandt, ed., *North-South: A Program of Survival* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980).

Recommended:

Charles K. Wilber, *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment* (NY: Random House, 1979).
Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer, *Economic Democracy* (M. E. Sharpe, 1980).
Richard Barnet, *The Lean Years* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1980).
Erik Dammann, *The Future in Our Hands* (NY: Pergamon, 1979).

### I. INTRODUCTION

**Oct. 6 Personal Ethics and EDGE—Introductory Lecture**

The first, introductory lecture will discuss how ethics relates to our examination of global development: personal, group, community, national, and international ethics. Some basic questions will be raised to encourage students to focus freshly and holistically on their own personal values and conceptual framework with respect to matters related to individual and societal development. Several ethical paradigms will be suggested as a stimulus for us to view the historical and theoretical analyses, the case studies involving contemporary realities, and the scenarios for development paths into the future, which will be presented through the lectures and readings.

**Reading:**

Richard J. Barnet, "The Scarcity Puzzle". Erik Dammann, "What are the Main Characteristics of the Human Situation Today?"

### II. THE EXISTENTIAL DIMENSION

Oct. 13 The World Today (Are Ethics Relative?) Quality of Life: How are human needs defined? Basic needs, human dignity, self fulfillment.

Physical Resources: Energy, non-fuel minerals, land, air, food, water.

Social Ethics: Who has what in the world today? How are physical resources, capital, technologies, information, education controlled, allocated and accessed? Social and economic indicators of life quality among today's populations (equalities and inequalities among and within nations).

Ecological Ethics: Relationship among earth's life support systems, population size and distribution, and various life styles (including use of technologies). Relationship between present human behavior and future generations. Examples of interactions among demographic trends, peoples' demands on nature, use of technologies, and ability of earth's physical environment to yield resources and to absorb societies' wastes.

**Reading:**
C. Pearson & A. Pryor, "North & South".
J. Randers & D. Meadows, "The Carrying Capacity of Our Global Environment".
"A Grim Look at Earth in the Year 2000".

## III. THE SOCIAL-HISTORICAL DIMENSION: HOW DID THE WORLD GET THIS WAY?

### Oct. 20 The Historical Sequence

How did the present global divisions evolve? Discussion of the historical sequence: pre-colonial, colonial, dependence and interdependence, transnational. Impact of colonialism on both the Third World and the Center powers with resulting types of development. How did present resource systems develop, who controls them? What have been the roles in the development process of: political, technological, economic, social institutions? Why and how have they evolved? How do they interact?

**Reading:**
Erik Dammann, "How We Acquired Our Superior Standard of Living".
Andre Gunder Frank, "On The Mechanisms of Imperialism: The Case of Brazil".

### Oct. 27 The Role of Development

Development as the process through which societies gain access to and utilize the earth's physical and human resources. Development, underdevelopment, and maldevelopment. (Definitions, linkages, examples.) What are the dynamics involved? We try to look beyond the rhetoric to the reality of the impact upon people of various political/economic/technological/educational systems within development processes. What are some stated purposes of development? Who are the developers? Who has benefited? What has development, underdevelopment, and maldevelopment meant for different sectors of societies? What are some of the key components of global development? What institutions control allocation, distribution, and access to resources such as land, capital, water, technologies, education and information? What are some structural restrictions against democratic and equalitarian development?

**Reading:**
Ignacy Sachs, "Crises of Maldevelopment in the North: A Way Out".
Dag Poliszynski, "Theories of Overdevelopment".
Nurul Islam, "The Hungry, Crowded & Competitive World".

## IV. THE STRUCTURAL DIMENSION: HOW DOES IT WORK?

### Nov. 3 Major Development Paradigms

What are the major development paradigms? Examples of models: capitalist/socialist, autocratic/democratic, centralized/decentralized, agrarian/industrial, rural/urban, growth/steady state, technological optimist, emphasis on economic values/emphasis on human-social values. Mixtures of above and diversities within. Cooperation and competition among different systems. Effects of different development models on total ecosystems (physical environment, people, long term survival of civilization). Present day examples and comparisons among, e.g. Chile, China, Mexico, Sweden, Venezuela, Brazil, Tanzania, Yugoslavia, U.S., Jamaica. Examples of some pervasive development problems such as: food self sufficiency, energy access and use, land use, distribution and control, individual and cultural differences in how quality of life is defined, balance between freedom and justice.

**Reading:**
Reginald Herbold Green, "Basic Human Needs: A Strategic Conceptualization Toward Another Development".
Elbaki Hermassi, "Changing Patterns in Research on the Third World".

**Nov. 10 Institutions (Aids or Constraints?)**
What roles are played by institutions in society: political, technological, economic, social? What do they control? How do they function at different levels of power and complexity (local, national, international)? Examples of roles played by specific institutions in the development process: public and private. (As both aids and constraints to development.) Rigidity and inertia of institutions. Routinization, inflexibility, single purpose vs. comprehensive objectives. The human factor in institutions: do individuals work here? Who benefits? Examples: MNC's, money markets, cartels, information media, education, technologies, national and international government bodies.

**Reading:**
Juan Somavia, "The Transnational Power Structure and International Information".
Barbara Stallings, "Peru & the U.S. Banks: Privatization of Financial Relations".
D. Blake & Walters, "Strategies for States in the Periphery of the Global Political Economy".
Scott Denman, "The Solar Monopoly — Big Business Reaches for the Sun".
Gwynne Dyer, "Jamaica's Economy has Paid the Price of Manley's Stance".

**Nov. 17 Transnationalization (The Dynamic of the Present?)**
Impact of colonialism and neocolonialism. Resultant dependency and interdependency relationships involving cultural values, language, self image, institutional and technological infrastructures. Relationship of U.S. development to Third World development. Cultural imperialism. Voluntary and involuntary cultural homogenization. The dynamics involved — what are the driving forces?

**Reading:**
O. Sunkel & E. F. Fuenzalida, "Transnationalization and its National Consequences".
M. Godfrey & S. Langdon, "Partners in Underdevelopment? The Transnationalization Thesis in a Kenyan Context".
J. G. Maisonrouge, "Multinationalism: Its Growing Role in World Affairs".

**Nov. 24 A New International Order (Rhetoric and Reality)**
What would the world look like with a more "balanced" international order?
What are some objectives?
 Eliminate poverty and hunger. Greater food self sufficiency.
 Strengthen earnings from commodities.
 Restructure industrial protectionism.
 Ensure broader sharing and control of technology.
 Reform the monetary system. New approach to development finance.
 Greater self reliance.
What are some of the major constraints?
 Nationalism, vested interest in status quo, including access to resources and markets, capital's demand for profits, growth "needs" of corporate and government bureaucracies, international opposition to self-reliance, ideological inertia.
What are some vehicles and mechanisms for expression and implementation? How can the world unlock from present dependency inequities and move toward more equitable self reliance? Examples of overcoming negative residues of colonialism and (inter)dependence.

**Reading:**
Michel Moffitt, "The U.S. & a New International Economic Order".
Richard Fagen, "Equity in the South in the Context of North-South Relations".
Timothy M. Shaw & Malcolm J. Grieve, "Dependence as an Approach to Understanding Continuing Inequalities in Africa".
Development Dialogue: "The Terra Nova Statement on the International Monetary System".

**Dec. 1 Balanced Development (Disaster or Opportunity? The Futures Dimension)**
Alternative futures. Presentation and critiques of several scenarios for local, national,

and international development such as traditional economic growth based on increasing production and consumption of material goods. (What would it mean if extended to total world population.) Agrarian vs. industrial based development. Growth with greater equality. Steady state systems. Relationship between quality of life and growth. Economic democracy. Definitions of "balanced development".

Comparison of balanced development and steady state. How would balanced development for rich countries differ from balanced development for poor countries? Some characteristics of balanced development: emphasis upon social rather than economic values, equitable, ecological, participatory, cooperative, decentralized. What are some major constraints on balanced development? Examples of new approaches to development: e.g. Scandinavia, Nicaragua, China, Yugoslavia, etc. What effect would balanced development have on various societies? (Take several basic characteristics of balanced development and write future scenarios for particular societies.)

**Reading:**
Erik Dammann, "A New Plan for Society".
Ulf Himmelstrand, "Paradise in Trouble".
Walter Rostow, "The Five Stages-of-Growth; A Summary".
"The Dimensions of Authentic Development".
"Design for the Future".
Ponna Wignaraja, "From the Village to the Global Order".
Krishna Ahooja-Patel, "Another Development for Women".
"The Reindustrialization of America", *Business Week*.

**Dec. 8 Resolutions for the Future**
Throughout the quarter you will be asked to develop a list of questions that concern you related to ethics in international development. From the list of "residual" questions those that remain unanswered at the end of the quarter all students will select one and submit it on December 1. The last meeting of the quarter will focus on your unanswered questions.

**Reading:**
Richard J. Barnet, "The Politics of Survival".

## Winter Quarter—1980-81

## Development from the Perspective of the Individual

The following is a tentative list of lectures for the Winter Quarter. A more detailed syllabus (not available at time of publication) may be obtained from the Transnational Academic Program, Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

**Jan. 12 Personal Ethics and EDGE**—Introductory Lecture
**Jan. 19 Quality of Life**—Human Needs Defined
**Jan. 26 What Do We Mean by "Development"?**
**Feb. 2 The Role of the Individual in Social Change**
**Feb. 9 Technology, the Individual, and Development**
**Feb. 16 Politics, the Individual, and Development**
**Feb. 23 Education, the Individual, and Development**
**Mar. 2 The Individual and Balanced Development** (Is the Future in our Hands?)
**Mar. 9 Resolutions for the Future**

# Development, the Third World's Quest for Justice

**Denis Goulet (O'Neill Chair, Education for Justice)** Spring 1980
Economics 400, Gov't 400, Sociology 400, Anthropology 400, Finance 400 / University of Notre Dame / Notre Dame IN 46566

Development is a vital arena in which the quest for justice, both within Third World countries and in international affairs, centers on issues of mass poverty, economic and technological dependency, and political oppression.

This course introduces students to these issues by analyzing a novel featuring a Latin American priest who takes up arms for social revolution under the banner of a Christian "theology of liberation." The class then moves to systematic readings in political economy, development strategy, and economic and social indicators which compare development performance across national boundaries.

These partial approaches to problem -solving in development are then integrated to a normative theory which links basic human values to social processes and political choices. Finally, the theory is set in the context of explorations into new models of global governance and of critical reflections on the historical limits of efforts to achieve social change.

## TEXTBOOKS

Greene, Graham. *The Honorary Consul.* (New York:, Simon & Schuster, 1973).

Wilber, Charles, ed. *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment.* (New York: Random House, 1979).

McLaughlin, Martin M., and Staff of the Overseas Development Council. *The United States and World Development, Agenda 1979.* (New York: Praeger, 1979).

Morris, David. *Measuring the Condition of the World s Poor.* (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon, 1979).

Goulet, Denis. *The Cruel Choice.* (New York: Atheneum, 1971).

Mendlovitz, Saul, ed. *On the Creation of a Just World Order.* (New York: Free Press, 1975).

Moore, Barrington Jr. *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery.* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1972).

## STRUCTURE

Lectures with occasional discussion and student presentations to class.

## REQUIREMENTS

1) Occasional brief assignments
   to serve as a record of key ideas; and
   to clarify students' personal reflections on assigned readings.
2) A mid-term project, taking one of several forms:
   written case study of some Third World development problem and approach;
   critical evaluation of some basic value conflict encountered in development;
   design of an audio-visual presentation on similar issues or values;
   comparative evaluation of any two books on the Supplementary Readings List.
3) A final exam comprising essay questions.

## SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

Achebe, Chinua. *Things Fall Apart.* (New York: Fawcett, 1978).

Adelman, Irma and Robinson, Sherman. *Income Distribution Policies in Developing Countries: A Case Study of Korea.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1978).

Beckford, George. *Persistent Poverty.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Berger, Peter L. *Pyramids of Sacrifice.* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1976).

Castel, Helene, ed. *World Development: An Introductory Reader.* (New York: Macmillan, 1971).

Chenery, Hollis, and others. *Redistributing with Growth.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

Elliott, Charles. *Patterns of Poverty in the Third World.* (New York: Praeger, 1975).

Fishlow, Albert, et.al. *Rich and Poor Nations in the World Economy.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

Freire, Paulo. *Education for Critical Consciousness.* (New York: Seabury, 1973).

*Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* (New York: Seabury, 1973).

Gamer, Robert E. *The Developing Nations: A Comparative Perspective.* (Boston, MA: Allyn, 1976).

Goulet, Denis. *A New Moral Order.* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1974).

*The Uncertain Promise.* (New York: IDOC, 1977).

Haq, Mahbub ul. *The Poverty Curtain.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

Harrington, Michael. *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor.* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977).

Heilbroner, Robert L. *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.* (New York: Norton, 1974).

Illich, Ivan D. *Toward A History Of Needs.* (New York: Bantam, 1980.)

Kane, Cheikh, Hamidou. *Ambiguous Adventure.* (New York: MacMillan, 1969).

International Labour Office. *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs.* (New York: Praeger, 1977).

James, Benneth P. and Wilber, Charles K. *Directions in Economic Development.* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).

Lipton, Michael. *Why Do People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977)

Mende, Tibor. *From Aid to Recolonization.* (New York: Partheon Books, 1973).

Myrdal, Gunnar. *The Challenge of World Poverty.* (New York: Random House, 1971).

Naipul, V.S. *The Mystic Masseur.* (New York: Penguin, 1977).

Waterston, Albert. *Development Planning: Lessons of Experience.* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1979).

# International Development: Theoretical Perspectives and Applied Issues

**Alan Amey / Timothy Shaw** Winter 1979
The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs / Carleton University / Ottawa, Canada

This course is intended to provide firstly, an overview of selected methodologies that are useful in deriving theories of development and international economics and secondly, a critical analysis of salient issues in these areas.

Rather than providing lists of theories, the concern will be on understanding *difference between theories* through recourse to philosophical, political and economic writings. This first part will assist in the selection of a *consistent* methodology to deal with certain international phenomena.

Once these methodologies and theories have been introduced and contrasted, the course will proceed to analyze rigorously certain issues in international political economy. Although there inevitably is some overlap in subject matter with other courses, the conceptualization, interpretation and explanation of certain phenomena will be stressed.

## TEXTS

### A. Assigned Texts

Daniel Chirot, *Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977).

W. G. Runciman, *Social Science and Political Theory* (London: Cambridge, 1969).

Jan Tinbergen et al, R.I.O. *Reshaping the International Order: A Report to the Club of Rome* (Scarborough: New American Library, 1977).

### B. Recommended Texts

J. Bhagwati, ed., *Economics and World Order from the 1970s to the 1990s* (NY: MacMillan, 1972).

Khadija Haq, ed., *Equality of Opportunity Within and Among Nations* (NY: Praeger, 1977).

G. K. Helleiner, ed., *A World Divided: the Less Developed Countries in the International Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 1976).

North-South Institute, *Third World Deficits and the "Debt Crisis"* (Ottawa, 1977).

North-South Institute, *Commodity Trade: Test Case for a New Economic Order* (Ottawa, 1978)

Overseas Development Council, *The United States and World Development: Agenda 1978* (NY: Praeger, 1978).

Mahbub Ul Haq, *The Poverty Curtain. Choices for the Third World* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1976).

## COURSE OUTLINE

### OVERVIEW OF COURSE — January 8

Assigned:

Elizabeth James, *Political Theory: An Introduction to Interpretation* (Chicago, IL: Rand-McNally, 1976), Chs. 1, 6.

D. Chirot, *Social Change in the Twentieth Century,* Chs. 1, 2.

W. G. Runciman, *Social Science and Political Theory,* Ch. 1.

Recommended:

A. Ryan, *The Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Chs. 1, 2; pp. 52, 53.

C. Fred Bergsten & Lawrence B. Krause, eds., *World Politics and International Economics* (Washington: Brookings, 1975), passim.

Jagdish N. Bhagwati, "Introduction" in his collection on *Economics and World Order from the 1970s to the 1990s* (NY: MacMillan, 1972), 1-28.

David H. Blake & Robert S. Walters, *The Politics of Global Economic Relations* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), passim, especially 1-10, 223-236.

Robert L. Heilbroner, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect* (NY: Norton, 1975).

G. K. Helleiner, "Introduction" in his collection on *A World Divided: the Less Developed Countries in the International Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), 1-28.

Robert O. Keohane & Joseph S. Nye, eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972), passim.

Edward L. Morse, *Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations* (NY: Free Press, 1976).

Joan Edelman Spero, *The Politics of International Economic Relations* (NY: St. Martin's, 1977), passim, especially 1-18.

## II. HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT — January 15

Assigned:

W. J. Barber, *A History of Economic Thought* (NY: Penguin, 1977), Introduction to Parts I-IV. (Read the rest if the student feels deficient.)

Recommended:

Maurice Godelier, *Rationality and Irrationality in Economics* (NY: Monthly Review, 1975).

Eric Roll, *History of Economic Thought* (Homewood IL: Irwin, 1974), Introduction and Conclusion.

W. Stark, *The History of Economics in Relation to Social Development.*

## III. FUNCTIONALISM AND NEO-FUNCTIONALISM — January 22

Assigned:

Gabriel Almond, "Introduction" in Gabriel Almond & James S. Coleman, eds., *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1960).

Recommended:

Charles Pentland, *International Theory and European Integration* (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 64-146.

Ernest B. Haas,"The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing", *International Organization* Vol. 24, No. 4 (1970).

David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1966).

Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (NY: Free Press, 1951).

J. P. Dewell, *Functionalism and World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966).

J. S. Nye, *Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 1-107.

## IV. MARXISM — January 30

Assigned:

D. Chirot, *Social Change in the Twentieth Century* , Ch. 9.

A. Foster-Carter, "Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment", *World Development* Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 167-177.

A. Foster-Carter, "Neo Marxist Approaches to Development and Underdevelopment", in E. Dekadt and G. Williams, eds., *Sociology & Development* (NY: Metheun, 1974).

Geoffrey Kay, *Development, Underdevelopment, and the Law of Value: A Marxist Analysis* (NY: St. Martin's, 1975), Chs. 1, 2.

K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers), 20-22.

Runciman, *Social Science and Political Theory*, Chs. II and VI.

Recommended:

Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*, Chs. 4-7.

## V. DEPENDENCIA — February 6

Assigned:

Sanjaya Lall, "Is Dependence a Useful Concept in Analyzing Underdevelopment?", *World Development* (1975), Vol. 3, Nos. 11 & 12, 799-810.

Philip J. O'Brien, "A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency", in Ivar Oxaal et al, eds., *Beyond the Sociology of Development* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 7-27.

Recommended:

Henry Bernstein, "Introduction: Development and the Social Sciences" and T. dos Santos, "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problems of Dependence in Latin America", in Henry Bernstein, ed., *Underdevelopment and Development: the Third World Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) 13-30, 57-80.

James A. Caporaso, "Dependence, Dependency and Power in the Global System: a Structural and Behavioral Analysis", *International Organization* Vol. 32, No. 1.

James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank & Dale L. Johnson, eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy* (NY: Doubleday, 1972), passim, especially 3-11.

Raymond D. Duvall, "Dependence and Dependencia Theory: Notes Towards Precision of Concept and Argument", *International Organization* (Winter 1978), Vol. 32 No. 1, 51-78.

Aidan Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment", *World Development* (March 1976), Vol. 4, No. 3, 167-180.

Robert Gilpin, "Three Models of the Future", in C. Fred Bergsten and Lawrence B. Krause, eds., *World Politics and International Economics* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1975), 37-60.

Harry R. Targ, "Global Dominance and Dependence, Post Industrialism and International Relations Theory: a Review", *International Studies Quarterly* (Sept. 1976), Vol. 20, No. 3, 461-482.

Thomas E. Weisskopf, "Capitalism, Underdevelopment and the Future of the Poor Countries", in Jagdish N. Bhagwati, ed., *Economics and World Order: from the 1970s to the 1990s* (NY: MacMillan, 1972), 43-77.

Charles K. Wilber, ed., *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment* (NY: Random House, 1979), 105-157.

## VI. THE POST-WAR ECONOMY — February 13

Assigned:

D. Chirot, *Social Change in the Twentieth Century*, esp. Ch. 6.

Tinbergen et al, *RIO Reshaping the International Economy* 71-154; especially 7-68.

Joan Edelman Spero, *The Politics of International Economic Relations* (NY: St. Martin's, 1977), 21-28, 284-290.

M. Ul Haq, *The Poverty Curtain*, Ch. 8.

World Bank, *World Development Report 1978* (Washington, DC: World Bank, Aug. 1978), Ch. 2.

Recommended:

Fouad Ajami, "The Global Logic of the Neoconservatives", *World Politics* (Apr. 1978), Vol.-30, No. 3, 450-468.

Samir Amin, "Self-reliance and the New International Order", *Monthly Review* (Aug. 1977), Vol. 29, No. 3, 1-21.

P. T. Bauer & B. S. Yamey, "Against the New Economic Order", *Commentary* (Apr. 1977), Vol. 63, No. 4, 25-31.

C. Fred Bergsten, ed., *The Future of the International Economic Order: an Agenda for Research* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1973).

Richard M. Cooper, ed., *A Reordered World: Emerging International Economic Problems* (Washington, DC: Potomac, 1973).

Richard M. Cooper, "A New International Economic Order for Mutual Gain", *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1977), Vol. 26, 65-120.

Peter Donaldson, *Worlds Apart: The Economic Gulf Between Nations* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1973).

Keith Griffin, *International Inequality and National Poverty* (NY: Holmes & Meier, 1978).

G. K. Helleiner, ed., *A World Divided: the Less Developed Countries in the International Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), 275-293.

Fred Hirsch, "Is There a New International Economic Order?" *International Organization* (Summer 1976), Vol. 30, No. 3, 521-532.

Orlando Letelier & Michael Moffitt, *The International Economic Order* (Washington, DC: Transnational Institute, 1977).

Harry Magdoff, "The Limits of International Reform", *Monthly Review* (May 1978), Vol. 30, No. 1, 1-11.

Tony Smith, "Changing Configurations of Power in North-South Relations Since 1945", *International Organization* (Winter 1977), Vol. 31, No. 1, 1-27.

Robert W. Tucker, *The Inequality of Nations* (NY: Basic, 1977).

Raimo Vayrynen, "Interdependence Versus Self-Reliance in Economic Relations", *Alternatives* (May 1978), Vol. 3, No. 4, 481-514.

Barbara Ward et al, eds., *The Widening Gap: Development in the 1970s* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1971).

## VII. FINANCE AND DEBT — February 27

Assigned:

G. K. Helleiner, ed., *A World Divided*, Part III.

North-South Institute, *Third World Deficits and the Debt Crisis* (Ottawa, 1978).

Tinbergen et al, *RIO: Reshaping the International Economy*, 155-178, 245-314.

Robert Triffin, "Reshaping the International Monetary Order", in A. J. Dolman & J. van Ettinger, eds., *Partners in Tomorrow: Strategies for a New International Order*. (NY: Dutton, 1978).

Recommended:

McLaughlin, *US and World Development: Agenda 1978*.

## VIII. COMMODITIES AND FOOD — March 6

Assigned:

G. K. Helleiner, ed., *A World Divided*, 31-110.

Frances Moore Lappe & Joseph Collins, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), passim.

North-South Institute, *Commodity Trade: Test Case for a New Economic Order* (Ottawa, 1978).

Tinbergen et al, *RIO*, 193-197, 355-369.

Recommended:

P. Connelly & R. Perlman, *The Politics of Scarcity: Resource Conflict in International Relations* (London: OUP for RIIA, 1975).

Susan George, *How the Other Half Dies: the Real Reasons for World Hunger* (Markham: Pelican, 1976).

Lester Brown, *By Bread Alone* (NY: Praeger, 1974).

North-South Institute, *World Food and the Canadian Breadbasket* (Ottawa, 1978).

N. W. Pirie, *Food Resources: Conventional and Novel* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976).

E. Rothschild, "Food Politics", *Foreign Affairs* (Jan. 1976), Vol. 54, No. 2, 285-307.

Raymond F. Hopkins & Donald J. Puchala eds., "The Global Political Economy of Food" *International Organization* (Summer 1978), Vol. 32, No. 3, 581-880.

### IX. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION — March 13

Assigned:

David H. Blake & Robert S. Walters, *The Politics of Global Economic Relations* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 76-126.

G. K. Helleiner, ed., *A World Divided*, 113-174.

Steven Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development", in Jahdish Bhagwati, ed., *Economics and World Order: from the 1970s to the 1990s* (NY: MacMillan, 1972), 113-140.

Recommended:

Richard J. Barnet & Ronald E. Muller, *Global Reach: the Power of the Multinational Corporations* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1974), passim.

Peter F. Drucker, "Multinationals and Developing Countries: Myths and Realities", *Foreign Affairs* (Oct. 1974), Vol. 53, No. 1, 121-134.

Recommended:

Robert Gilpin, *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation: the Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment* (NY: Basic, 1975).

Charles P. Kindleberger, ed., *The International Corporation: Symposium* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).

Richard L. Sklar, "Post-Imperialism: A Class Analysis of Multinational Corporate Expansion", *Comparative Politics* (Oct. 1976), Vol. 9, No. 1, 75-92.

Joan Edelman Spero, *The Politics of International Economic Relations* (NY: St. Martin's, 1977), 86-118, 191-214.

Louis Turner, *Multinational Corporations and the Third World* (London: Allen Lane, 1974).

UN, *Transnational Corporations in World Development: a Re-examination* (NY: 1978).

Raymond Vernon, *Sovereignty at Bay: the Multinational Spread of US Enterprises* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1971).

Raymond Vernon, *Storm over the Multinationals: the Real Issues* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977).

### X. DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT — March 20

Assigned:

S. Thomson, *Armament and Disarmament: A Discussion Paper* (Science Council of Canada).

International Labour Office, *Employment, Growth & Basic Needs: a One-World Problem* (NY: Praeger, 1977), Ch. 9.

Ul Haq, *Poverty Curtain*, 106-121.

Tinbergen, et al, *RIO*, 205-209, 387-401.

Recommended:

Hedley Bull, "Arms Control and World Order", *International Security* (1976), Vol. 1, No. 1, 3-16.

William Epstein, *The Last Chance: Nuclear Proliferation and Arms Control* (NY: Free Press, 1976).

Richard A. Falk, *This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival* (NY: Vintage 1971), especially 105-132, 257-284.

Geoffrey Kemp, "Scarcity and Strategy", *Foreign Affairs* (1978), Vol. 56, No. 2, 396-414.

*Plowshares Monitor,* various issues.

SIPRI, *Arms Trade with the Third World* (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1978).

Ruth Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1978* (Leesberg: WMSE, 1978).

"Special Issue on United Nations and Disarmament", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* (3, 1978).

"Special Number on Disarmament", *Alternatives* (July 1978), Vol. 4, No. 1, 1-163.

Inga Thorsson, "Partners in Disarmament" in A. J. Dolman & J. van Ettinger, eds., *Partners in Tomorrow: Strategies for a New International Order* (NY: Dutton, 1978).

**XI. TECHNOLOGY — March 29**

Assigned:

Amory B. Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths: Toward a Durable Peace* (Markham: Pelican, 1977), passim, especially 1-60.

Tinbergen, et al. *RIO*, 186-192, 334-354.

Recommended:

Leonard Bery & Robert W. Kates, eds., *Making the Most of the Least: Alternative Ways to Development* (NY: Holmes & Meier, 1979).

David H. Blake & Robert S. Walters, *The Politics of Global Economic Relations* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 143-167.

Malcolm Caldwell, *The Wealth of Some Nations* (London: Zed, 1977), passim.

Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (NY: Knopf, 1971).

Denis Goulet, *The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer* (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1977).

Andrew M. Kamarck, *The Tropics and Economic Development: A Provocative Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, for IBRD, 1977).

Steven Langdon, "Technology Transfer by Multinational Corporations in Africa: Effects on the Economy", *Africa Development* (1977), 95-114.

William Ophuls, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity* (SF: Freeman, 1977), passim, especially 1-139.

Francis R. Sagasti, *Technology, Planning and Self-Reliant Development: a Latin American View* (NY: Praeger, 1979).

Eugene B. Sknolnikoff, *The International Imperatives of Technogy* (Berkeley: Institute of Int'l Studies, 1973).

Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, *Only One Earth: the Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet* (Markham: Pelican, 1972), passim, especially 69-205.

**XII. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOBILITY — April 3**

Assigned:

Kaichi Hamada, "Taxing the Brain Drain: A Global Point of View", in J. N. Bhagwati, ed., *The NIEO: The North-South Debate* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977).

International Labour Office, *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem* (NY: Praeger, 1977), Ch. 8.

Recommended:

J. Bhagwati, ed., *Taxing the Brain Drain: A Proposal* (NY: North-Holland, 1976).

I.L.O., *Background Papers to I.L.O. Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress, and the International Division of Labour* (NY: United Nations).

UNCTAD, "The Reverse Transfer of Technology: Its Dimensions, Economic Effects and Policy Implications", UNCTAD, TD/B/ EC 6/7 (NY: UN, October 13, 1975).

UNCTAD, "Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Reverse Transfer of Technology", UNCTAD, TD/B/C 6/28 & TD/B/C 6/AC 4/10.

**XIII. BASIC HUMAN NEEDS — April 10**

Assigned:

Louis Emmerij, "Facts and Fallacies Concerning the Basic Needs Approach", *Carnets de L'Enfance*, Vol. 41.

International Labour Office, *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem* (NY: Praeger, 1977), Ch. 2.

I.L.O., *Basic Needs Approach to Development: Some Issues Regarding Concepts and Methodology* (NY: UN), esp. Ch. 1.

Maurice Williams, "The Development Challenge of Today: Meeting the Basic Needs of the Poorest People", mimeograph.

Recommended:

I.L.O., *Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress in the International Division of Labour*, Vol. I, *Basic Needs and National Employment Strategies* (NY: UN 1976).

McLaughlin, ed., *U.S. and World Development: Agenda 1978*.

Glen Sheehan & Mike Hopkins, "Meeting Basic Needs: An Examination of the World Situation", *International Labour Review* (1978), Vol. 117, No. 5, 523-542.

# Legal Obligations Under the New International Economic Order

**Robert Bard** Spring 1980
School of Law / University of Connecticut / Hartford, CT 06117

## READING MATERIALS

### A. Required Texts

Fishlow, *Rich & Poor Nations in the World Economy* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978).
Wriggins, *Reducing Global Inequities* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978).
Talbot, *World Food Problem* (Ames, IA: Iowa State Univ. Press, 1979).

### B. Supplemental Materials

Cox, *Ideologies and the New International Economic Order.*

## II. REQUIRED WORK

The course grade will be based on two assignments:

A. Members of the seminar, each are to submit a paper in the form of an "international legislative proposal" in response to assumed obligation that we resolve the problem of "Inequities in Relations among States and Abject Poverty within Societies".

B. Each class member will be responsible for certain readings which will be summarized in writing for class distribution and discussed in class on the basis of questions formulated by the responsible class members.

## III. COURSE OUTLINE

### A. Nature of Problem

Michael Harrington: *The Vast Majority* (1977): "My negative critique of how the United States, and the dominant capitalist powers generally oppress the poor of the planet is, I believe, quite persuasive. But when one shifts from what is wrong to how to make it right, there are enormous difficulties. On the one hand it is almost impossible to imagine a complete plausible alternative to the existing world economic system. The present reality is, after all, an intricate and vast system, a living, global organism. Even if one could omnisciently work out a total substitute for it, making that work of the mind as real as reality is beyond our powers." pp. 31-32.

A. Robert Nathans: *New York Times* (11/11/79): "They're ongoing programs focussed on increasing supplies or on switching from the use of scarce fuels to more plentiful energy sources, such as coal or hydro. But today the situation has made that approach inadequate. The only way the developing countries can survive now is to adjust consumption to the lower levels of energy that will be available."

Readings

Gwin, *Reducing Global Inequities* (1978), 1-17, "Introduction: Poverty and Inequities— Strategy for Change".
Grant, *ILO World Employment Conference* (1977), Foreword, V-XI.
Cox, "Ideologies and the New International Economic Order".
Hansen, *Rich and Poor Nations*, "Introduction", 1-8.
"Lybians Awash", New York Times (10/20/79)
Johnson, "Population, Food and Economic Adjustment".

### B. Solution of Problem Via International Law

1. International Covenant on Economic Social & Cultural Rights: Art. 2:1) "Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and cooperation especially economic and technical, to the

maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant... ") "Developing countries, with due regard to human rights and their national economy, may determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in the present Covenant to non-nationals."

2. *U.S. Digest*, Chs. 3, 6: *American Journal of International Law* 72, p. 623: "In his report (included in President Carter's letter of transmittal of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to the U.S. Senate for advice and consent), Deputy Secretary Christopher recommended six statements to eliminate possible conflicts with U.S. law. These statements...deal, *inter alia*, with the right to own property, free speech, constituent units of the Federal Government, the non-self-executing nature of certain articles..."

3. *U.S. Digest*, Chs. 3, 6: *American Journal of International Law* 72, p. 381: "In his statement Ambassador Young described how a state could violate international law by subjecting a person to the deprivation of such individual rights as freedom of speech and freedom from torture. He also indicated that the United States favors the progressive achievement of such basic economic rights as those set out in the International Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights but that the United States does not agree that the realization of the New International Economic Order is a precondition to the effective advancement of human rights."

Readings
Sauvant and Hasenpflug, *New International Economic Order* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1977), 97-117, 20-35.
Brower & Tepe, "The Charter of Economic Rights..."
Schachter, "Twilight Existence..."
Talbot, *World Food Problem*.

**C. Entitlement and Response**

1. Kissinger, U.N. Sept. 1, 1975: "For some time the technical capacity has existed to provide a tolerable standard of life for the world's 4 billion people... When the ancient dream of mankind – a world without poverty – becomes a possibility, our profound moral convictions make it also our duty."

2. Diaz-Alejandro, *Rich and Poor Nations: Delinking North and South*: "Why not argue for a worldwide war on poverty and oppression?...The Answer is obvious: no Northern government has both the credibility and the resources to launch and lead such a program... Indeed, much remains to be done by such governments on their home fronts to eliminate poverty and injustices."

Readings
Wassily Leontief, *The Future of the World Economy* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), Introduction and Summary.
George Ball, *Diplomacy for a Crowded World*, pp. 285-291.

**D. Proposed Solutions**

W. Arthur Lewis, The Evolution of the International Economic Order (1977): "We cannot escape the fact that Eastern and Southern Europe were just as backward in industrializing as South Asia or Latin America. Political independence alone is an insufficient basis for industrialization."

"We must therefore turn to economic explanations. The most important of these, and the most neglected, is the dependence of an industrial revolution on a prior or simultaneous agricultural revolution."

Readings
U.N. Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.
Henry Kissinger, U.N. Statement, Sept. 1, 1975.
Cyrus Vance, America's Commitment 3/30/79.
Fidel Castro, U.N. Statement 10/13/79.

Richard Falk,"Political Prospects, Cultural Choices, Anthropological Horizons *Journal of the New Alchemists*, 1979.

*Reducing Global Inequities* (1978):

Wriggins, "Third World Strategies for Change: The Political Context of North-South Interdependence", 21-119.

Gunnar Adler-Karlson, "Eliminating Absolute Poverty: An Approach to the Problem", 121-180.

*Rich and Poor Nations in the World Economy:*

Fishlow, "A New International Economic Order: What Kind?" p. 11 et seq.

Diaz-Alejandro, "Delinking North and South: Unshackled or Unhinged?", p. 87 et seq.

Fagen, "Equity in the South in the Context of North-South Relations", 165-214.

Hansen, "The Political Economy of North-South Relations: An Overview and an Alternative Approach", 217-254.

Graham, " U.S. Generalized System of Preferences for Developing Countries" (includes review of proposals of Paul Prebish), *American Journal of International Law* 72 (1978), 513.

Williams, "Development Policies and Human Needs".

**E. Resources**

Armaments and the Poor

Readings

*Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy.* "Special Issue on Disarmament and Development for a Just World", Vol. 4 No. 1, (1978).

**F. Energy**

1. *Energy and Food*
2. *Alternate Energy Systems: Solar and Conservation*

Readings:

Craig and Darmstadter, "Social and Institutional Factors in Energy Conservation", in J. M. Hollander, et al, eds., *Annual Review of Energy* Vol. 1 (1976), 535-551.

Hays, *The Case for Conservation.* World Watch Paper #4 (Jan. 1976).

Schipper and Trachtenberg "Efficient Energy Use and Well Being: The Swedish Example", *Science* Vol. 194, (1976), 1001-1013.

3. *Cross-National Perspectives On Energy Policy Making*

Readings:

Lindberg, "The Energy Crisis: A Political Economy Perspective" in L. Lindberg, ed., *The Energy Syndrome: Comparing National Responses to the Energy Crisis* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1977), 1-32.

Lindberg, "Comparing Energy Policies: Policy Implications", *ibid.*, 357-382.

Darmstadter, et al, "International Variations in Energy Use: Findings From a Comparative Study", *Ann. Rev. Energy* (1978), 3:201-24.

# Natural Resources in the World Economy: Control and Conflict

**J. Barnard**
Dept. of Economics / The University of Iowa / Iowa City, Iowa 52242

Fall 1979

The objectives of the course are to examine the economic issues connected with the "new scarcity" in natural resources (primary commodities) in the world economy and the application of the tools of economic analysis to the problems of market control, implications for economic growth and development, and potential conflict among nations. The course will seek to provide a synthesis of economic theory and examine the political economy of the current issues of natural resources development and current and future trade relationships in the world economy, especially between the so-called developed and less-developed countries. It will bring students to an understanding of the role of prices in resource use and discovery, or market coalitions and strategies, of the role of technological advance, and probable market strategies and protection measures. Finally, the course will examine conflict situations among nations, the impact of cost of adjustments in consumption versus the cost of conflict, and economic policies that may influence world peace.

## GRADES

The final grade for the course will be based on a midterm and a final, and a term paper on a topic selected by the student. Term paper topics and outlines should be selected and approved by the instructor. The final grade will be determined as follows: Examinations, 60%; Term paper, 30%; Class participation, 10%.

## READING MATERIALS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Textbook: Charles W. Howe, *Natural Resource Economics* (NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1979).

## COURSE OUTLINE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

### 1. Introduction

1.1 Survey of issues connected with natural resources in the world economy

1.2 Rapid depletion of scarce resources and intensifying competition among countries to protect access to external supplies

1.3 Commodities involved, trade relationships, and country response

Required:

Bergsten, "The New Era in World Commodity Markets", *Challenge* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Sept./Oct. 1974), 34-42.

*Resources*,"An Abundance of Shortages" (Resources for the Future, Inc., Jan. 1973), 1-2.

Heilbroner, *An Inquiry Into the Human Prospect* (NY: Norton, 1974).

Brubaker, *In Command of Tomorrow* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1975), Preface, Ch. 1, pp. ix-22.

Bhagwati, "Economics and World Order from the 1970s to 1990s: the Key Issues" in *Economics and World Order* (NY: The Free Press, 1972).

Meadows, et al, *The Limits to Growth* (NY: Universe Press, 1972).
Gordon, "Limits to Growth Debate", *Resources* (Summer 1976).
Landsberg, *Natural Resources for U.S. Growth: A Look Ahead to the Year 2000* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1964).

**2. Relevant Theory**

2.1 Economic theory of natural resources exploitation and conservation
Required:
Howe, *Natural Resource Economics*, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8.
Optional:
Herfindahl and Knesse, *Economic Theory of Natural Resources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974), Chs. 1-4.
Hotelling, "Economics of Exhaustible Resources", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (1931), 137-175.
Heady, "Intertemporal Production Relationships in Conservation", *Economics of Agricultural Production and Resource Use* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: PrenticeHall, 1952), 768-781.
Dorfman, "The Technical Basis for Decision Making", in *The Governance of Common Property Resources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974).
Goldsmith, "Market Allocation of Exhaustive Resources", *Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 82 (Sept. 10, 1974), 1035-1040.

2.2 Oligopoly
Required:
Manfield, "Price and Output under Oligopoly", *Microeconomics*, Ch. 11.

**3. Supply and Demand in the World Economy**

3.1 Supply and demand of primary commodities between developed and less developed countries
Required:.
Howe, *Natural Resource Economics*, Chs. 6, 9.
Leith, Furness, & Lewis, *World Minerals and World Peace* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1943), 8-161.
J. J. Schanz, "Mineral Economics — Perspectives of the Past, Present and Future", *Resources for the Future*, Reprint 138.
Univ. of California Food Task Force, *A Hungry World: The Challenge to Agriculture* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, Division of Agricultural Sciences, 1974).
Optional:
Johnson, *World Food Problems and Prospects* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975).
H. O. Carter, "World & U.S. Food Trends...", *AEI Studies*.

3.2 Control and conflict: types of markets, market coalitions and alternative market strategies
Required:
Mikesell, "More Third World Cartels Ahead", *Challenge* (Nov./Dec. 1974), 24-31.
Bergsten, "The New Era in World Commodity Markets", *Challenge* (Sept./Oct. 1974), 34-42.
Perlo, "Behind the U.S. — OPEC Conflict", *Challenge* (Sept./Oct. 1975), 49-54.
Bergsten, "A New OPEC in Bauxite", *Challenge* (Mar./Apr. 1977).
Strauss, "Why Commodity Cartels Won't Work", *Business Week* (June 30, 1975), 20-22.
Davidson, "The Economics of Natural Resources", *Challenge* (Mar./Apr. 1979), 40-46.
Optional:
Sweeny, Tollison & Willett, "Market Failure, The Common Pool Problem, and Ocean Resource Exploitation", *Journal of Law and Economics* Vol. 17 (Apr. 1974), 179-192.

Landsberg, *Natural Resources for U.S. Growth.*
*Business Week.* "Research to Multiply Food Production: Was Malthus Right?" (June 16, 1975).
*Business Week.* "U.S. Food Power: Ultimate Weapon in World Politics" (Dec. 15, 1975).
Eckholm, *Losing Ground: Environmental Stress & World Food Prospects* (NY: Norton, 1976).
McDivitt and Manners, *Minerals and Men* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1965).

3.3 Role of technological advancement and resource discovery
Required:
Howe, *Natural Resource Economics*, Ch. 7.
Chynoweth, "Materials Conservation — A Technologist's Viewpoint", *Challenge* (Jan./Feb. 1976), 34-42.

3.4 Primary commodities, inflation and growth prospects in the world economy
Required:
Cooper and Lawrence, "The 1972-75 Commodity Boom", *Brookings Paper on Economic Activity* Vol. 3 (1975), 671-715.
Chenery, "Restructuring the World Economy", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 53 (Jan. 1975), 242-263.
J. P. Henry, et al. "World Energy: A Manageable Dilemma", *Harvard Business Review* Vol. 57, No. 3 (1979).
Edgar L. Feige, "The Economic Consequences of Peace in the Middle East", *Challenge* (Jan./Feb. 1979).
Rosenstein-Rodan, "The Have and the Have Nots Around the Year 2000", in *Economics and World Order.*
Optional:
Okita, "Natural Resources Dependency and Japanese Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 52 (July 1974), 714-724.

**4. Adjustment to Resource Scarcity**

4.1 Conflict situations among nations
Required:
Harrison, *China, Oil and Asia: Conflict Ahead?* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977).
Nakhleh, *Arab-American Relations in the Persian Gulf* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975).
Heilbroner, *An Inquiry Into the Human Prospect.*
Heilbroner, "Second Thoughts on the Human Prospect", *Challenge* (May/June, 1975), 21-28.
Levy, "World Oil Co-operation or International Chaos", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 52 (July 1974), 690-713.

4.2 Cost of adjustment vs. cost of conflict
Required:
Brubaker, *In Command of Tomorrow.* Chs. 4, 5, 7, 8.
Leith, Furness & Lewis, *World Minerals and World Peace.* pp. 185-206.
Committee for Economic Development, *International Economic Consequence of High-Priced Energy* (NY: Committee for Economic Development, 1975).
Lincoln Gordon, "Environment, Resources and Directions of Growth", *World Development* Vol. 3 (Feb./Mar. 1975), 113-121.
Mason, "Natural Resources and Environmental Restrictions to Growth", *Challenge.*
Optional:
Mitchell, *Dialogue on World Oil* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1974).

Boulding, *International Systems: Peace, Conflict Resolution and Politics* (Boulder: Colorado Associated Univ. Press, 1975).

4.3 Responsible natural resources policy and the world economy

Required:

Howe, *Natural Resource Economics*, Ch. 16.

Leontief, "Observations on Some Worldwide Economic Issues of Coming Years", *Challenge* (Mar./Apr. 1978), 22-30.

Tinbergen, et al, *RIO — Reshaping the International Order* (NY: Dutton, 1976).

Leontief, et al, *The Future of the World Economy* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977).

# Political Economy of the Third World

**James Mittelman** Spring 1980
Dept. of Political Science / Columbia University / New York, NY 10027

The purposes of this course are to answer four questions: What are the characteristics of underdevelopment? What are the causes of underdevelopment? What are the mechanisms that sustain underdevelopment? What strategies have been, or can be, adopted to surmount it?

The assigned reading and class discussion center on political economy. We will attempt to provide an historical explanation for the rise of capitalism, elucidate key concepts in the analysis of development, and present a general overview of contemporary problems in the Third World. Various contending theories are assessed at each stage throughout the semester. In light of these theories, we will examine a series of case studies, emphasizing the historical formation and the changing nature of underdevelopment.

Each student is asked to select one country in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, and become acquainted with the developmental experience there. Two papers are required on the country you choose.

The course grade is based on your written work and on class participation.

## READINGS

Chinua Achebe, *A Man of the People* (NY: Doubleday).
Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable, eds., *Political Development and Social Change* (NY: Wiley, 1971).
William Hinton, *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (NY: Random House, 1968).
V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (NY: Int'l Publishing Co., 1969).
Karl Marx, *Capital* (NY: Int'l Publishers, 1969, New World Paperbacks edition).
Barrington, Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

## TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

All readings are required unless otherwise indicated.

### I. Introduction

### A. On the Study of Development, Underdevelopment, and Revolution

### B. The Concept of the "Third World"

Achebe, *A Man of the People*.
Jean-Paul Sartre, "Preface" to Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Constance Farrington, trans., (NY: Grove, 1965).

### C. Contending Approaches

1. Modernization
    Lucian Pye, "The Concept of Political Development", in Finkle and Gable, eds., *Political Development and Social Change*.
    Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems: An Overview", in Finkle and Gable, eds., *Political Development and Social Change*.

W. W. Rustow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971).

2. Dependency

Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence", in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism* (Boston: Sargent, 1971).

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment", in Robert I. Rhodes, ed., *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader* (NY: Monthly Review, 1971).

Supplementary:

James D. Cockroft, et al, *Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy* (Magnolia, MA: Peter Smith).

3. Historical Materialism

Karl Marx, "Introduction", *Grundrisse*, David McLellan, ed. & translator (NY: Harper & Row, 1972).

Supplementary:

Mao Tse-Tung, "On Contradiction", in *Four Essays on Philosophy, Selected Works*, 5 Vol. (NY: Pergamon, 1977).

## II. Categories of Analysis

### A. Value and Surplus-Value

### B. Accumulation

### C. Crises and Depressions

Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I
- Part I, Chs. 1, 2.
- Part II, Chs. 4, 5, 6.
- Part III, Chs. 7, 8.
- Part VII, Chs. 23, 25 (Sections 3, 4).
- Part VIII, Chs. 26, 32, 33.

Eric-Hobsbawm, ed., *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, Jack Cohen, translator (NY: Int'l Publ. Co., 1965).

### D. Imperialism

V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism.*

## III. Pre-Capitalist and Capitalist Development

Britain
France
Japan

Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Chs. 1, 2, 5.

## IV. Uneven Development

### A. State Capitalism

1. Internal Factors
   - Political Parties
   - Bureaucracy
   - The Military
   - Economic Nationalism
2. External Factors
   - Multinational Corporations
   - International Institutions

James H. Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda: From Obote to Amin* (NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975), Chs. 3-6.

**B. Radical Social Transformations**

1. Socialist Revolution: China
   Hinton, *Fanshen.*
2. Liberation Movements: Mozambique
   *Issue,* VIII, No. 1 (Spring 1978)
   Supplementary:
   Norman Miller and Roderick Aya, *National Liberation: Revolution in the Third World* (NY: Free Press, 1971), passim.

**V. Summary and Conclusions**

**A. Alternative Strategies, Possibilities and Probabilities**

**B. A New International Economic Order**
Fidel Castro, *Address to the 34th Session of the U.N. General Assembly*

# The International Political Economy of Food*

**Cheryl Christensen** Spring 1979
Dept. of Government and Politics / University of Maryland / College Park, MD 20742

The purpose of the course is to introduce students to the international political economy of food, that is, to the way economics and politics together structure food production and consumption patterns within and across states. The major reason for being interested in these patterns is that so many people (primarily in the less developed countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East) are hungry. While their hunger can certainly be treated as a single problem, it is very closely tied to *poverty*: for it is primarily the poor in LDCs who suffer from chronic hunger, and who die of starvation when crises occur. Whether people are hungry, then, depends not only on how much total food is produced, but on whether the hungry can actually receive the food they need to assure their health and physical development. Hence, food production must often be seen in a wider context, one that considers the development strategy a country follows, and the place of the poor in that strategy. If an analysis of hunger stopped with a treatment of national development strategies of less developed countries, however, it would tacitly assume that hunger was a national problem of the countries where hungry people live. To some extent, this may be justified. However, the structure of *global* food production and distribution patterns should also be examined, for the wealth and power of rich states structures international food markets, and often the position of poorer LDCs within them.

Hunger in the LDCs coincides with diseases of "over consumption" in richer countries. Yet, most grain traded flows from industrialized countries to industrialized countries— meaning that it is used in large part to support affluent diets and not to meet basic food needs. Many LDCs with serious hunger problems at home nevertheless export agricultural commodities to richer countries primarily because only through the sale of cocoa, coffee, tea, sugar, tropical fruits, and fibers such as jute and sisal can they earn the foreign exchange required to trade with other countries. The ethical, as well as the political and economic, questions which such global patterns raise should be part of a discussion of hunger. They also affect judgments about what is to be done whether reducing hunger could (and should) be a collective global enterprise or an effort on the part of poorer states to become more self-reliant in basic food commodities.

The course is organized into three major sections. Section I presents the global structure of food consumption, production and trade. It covers the first six weeks of the course. The topics covered are: hunger (1 week), the population-production balance (1 week), the politics of production (2 weeks), global trade patterns (1 week), and agribusiness (1 week). Section II deals with the food policies and structures of four important countries: the USA, the USSR, China and India. This section covers four weeks. Section III of the course discusses global food security strategies. Covering three weeks, it includes considerations of food aid, food reserves, and greater national self-reliance.

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*This is an abridged version of a course package and paper prepared by Cheryl Christensen for the program in Technology, Resources, and Political Economy at the University of Maryland, College Park.

## PART I: GLOBAL FOOD STRUCTURES

### Week 1 Global Malnutrition

**A. How many people are hungry, and who are these people.**

Schlomo Reutlinger and Marcelo Selowsky, *Malnutrition and Poverty: Magnitude and Policy Options* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins for the World Bank, 1976).

Hollis Chenery, et al. *Redistribution with Growth* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), Chs. 1, 6, 7.

Linda Haverman, "Individual Needs: Nutritional Guidelines for Policy?", in Peter Brown and Henry Shue, eds., *Food Policy: The Responsibility of the United States in the Life and Death Choices* (NY: Free Press, 1977), 212-233.

**B. Hunger as a poverty problem.**

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *Food First* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

Schlomo Reutlinger, "Malnutrition: A Poverty or a Food Problem", *World Development* Vol. 5, No. 8 (Aug. 1977), 715-724.

Cheryl Christensen, "World Hunger: A Structural Approach", *International Organization* 32:3 (Summer, 1978).

Thomas Nagel, "Poverty and Food: Why Charity is Not Enough", in Brown and Shue, *Food Policy*, 54-62.

Radha Sinha, *Food and Poverty – The Political Economy of Confrontation* (NY: Holmes and Meier, 1976).

**C. Hunger and "overnutrition" in advanced industrialized countries. The relationship between the diet of the rich and global food distribution.**

Erik Eckholm & Frank Record, *The Two Faces of Hunger* (Worldwatch Paper #9).

Erik Eckholm, *The Picture of Health* (NY: Norton, 1977).

Francis Moore Lappe, *Diet for a Small Planet* (NY: Ballantine, 1971).

Nick Kotz, *Let Them Eat Promises* (NY: Anchor Books, 1971).

**D. Personal consequences of hunger and their implications for societies in which a large portion of the population is underfed.**

Alan Berg, *The Nutrition Factor* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1973).

**E. Limitations of existing institutions and programs for dealing with hunger.**

James Austin, "Institutional Dimensions of the Malnutrition Problem", *International Organization*, 32:3 (Summer 1978), 811-836.

Jack Shepherd, *The Politics of Starvation* (NY: The Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace, 1976).

### Week 2 The Population-Production Balance

**A. The Neo-Malthusian Perspective.**

Lester Brown, *By Bread Alone* (NY: Praeger, 1974), Parts 1, 2.

D. Meadows, et al, *The Limits to Growth* (NY: The New American Library, 1972).

George Borgstrom, *Focal Points: A Global Food Strategy* (NY: Macmillan, 1973); or *The Hungry Planet* (NY: Collier Books, 1972).

Lyle Schertz, "World Food Prices and the Poor", *Foreign Affairs* (April 1974).

**B. Critiques of the Neo-Malthusian perspective.** The importance of basic economic and food security in reducing population pressures.

Richard Ankar & Ghati Farooq, "Population and Socio-economic Development: A New Perspective", *International Labour Review* (Mar/Apr 1978).

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *Food First.*

J. De Hoogh et al. "Food for a Growing World Population: Some of the Major Findings of a Study on the Long Term Prospects of the World Food Situation", *European Review of Agricultural Economics* 3-4 (1976).

A. Herrera et al. *Catastrophe or New Society?* (Ottawa, Canada: Int'l Development Research Centre, 1976).

R. Rich, "Smaller Families Through Economic & Social Progress", Monograph (Overseas Development Council, 1973).

Robert Repetto, "The Interaction of Fertility and the Size Distribution of Income", *Research Paper Number 8* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Center for Population Studies, Oct. 1974).

**C. World food needs: estimates and explanations.**

Lyle Schertz, "World Needs: Shall the Hungry be With Us Always", in Brown and Shue, *Food Policy*, 13-35.

Cheryl Christensen, "World Hunger: A Structural Approach", *International Organization*, 32:3 (Summer 1978).

**Wks 3/4 The Politics of Productivity**

**Week 3 Part 1: The Physical Basis for Productivity**

**A. Overview**

Lester Brown, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 75-146.

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *Food First*, pp. 75-178.

**B. Fertilizer and increasing energy inputs.**

David Pimental et al., "Food Production and the Energy Crisis", *Science* (Nov. 2 1973).

John Steinhart and Carol Steinhart, "Energy Use in the U.S. Food System", *Science* (Apr. 19, 1974).

Maurice Green, *Eating Oil: Energy Use in Food Production* (Denver: Westview Press, 1978).

Arjun Makhijani and Alan Poole, *Energy and Agriculture in the Third World* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1975).

FAO, *The State of Food and Agriculture, 1976* (Rome, 1977).

G. R. Allen, "The World Fertilizer Situation", *World Development*, 5:5-7 (May/June 1977).

C. P. Timmer, "Fertilizer and Food Policy in LDCs", *Food Policy*, 1:2 (Feb. 1976).

R. Reidinger, *World Fertilizer Review and Prospects to 1980* (Foreign Agricultural Economic Report #115, Economic Research Service, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Feb. 1976).

**C. Problem and likelihood of climate change.**

Reid Bryson and John Ross, "Climatic Variation and Implications for World Food Production", *World Development*, 5:5-7 (May/June 1977).

Charles F. Cooper, "What Might Man-Induced Climate Change Mean?", *Foreign Affairs*, 56:3 (Apr. 1978).

**D. Global scarcity and ecological aspects of increasing food production.**

Dennis Pirages, *The New Context for International Relations: Global Ecopolitics* (No. Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1978).

Erik Eckholm, *Losing Ground: Environmental Stress and World Food Prospects* (NY: Norton, 1976).

### Week 4 Part 2: The Social and Political Impacts of Productivity Gains

**A. The introduction of technology and its effects particularly on smaller farmers.**

Francine Frankel, *India's Green Revolution: Economic Gains and Political Costs* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1971).

Keith Griffin, *The Political Economy of Agrarian Change* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1974).

Harry M. Cleaver, "The Contradictions of the Green Revolution", *Monthly Review*, 24:2 (June 1972).

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *Food First*.

International Labour Office, *Mechanization and Employment in Agriculture* (Geneva: ILO, 1978).

**B. The "small farmer" strategy.**

Uma Lele, *Design for Rural Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975).

**C. Land reform.**

Peter Dorner, *Land Reform and Economic Development* (NY: Penguin, 1972).

Louis Walinsky, ed., *Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977).

### Week 5 The International Food Trading System

**A. The grain trading system.**

Walter C. Labys, "World Grain Markets: A Functional Analysis", *World Development*, 5:5-7 (May/June 1977).

Robbin S. Johnson, "The World Grain Economy and the Food Problem", *World Development*, 5:5-7 (May/June 1977).

Thomas Grennes, Paul Johnson and Marie Thursby, *The Economics of World Grain Trade* (Eastbourne, Sussex: Holt-Saunders, 1978).

Robert Paarlberg, "Shifting and Sharing Adjustment Burdens: The Role of the Industrial Food Importing Nations", *International Organization*, 32:3 (Summer 1978).

**B. The problem of LDC grain importation.**

International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), *Recent and Prospective Developments in Food Consumption: Some Policy Issues* (Washington, DC: IFPRI, July 1977).

**C. Export crops or basic foodstuffs.**

F.M. Lappe and J. Collins, *Food First*, 181-247.

Cheryl Christensen, *The Right to Food: How to Guarantee* WOMP Paper #6 (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978).

Alberto Valdez & Barbara Huddleston, *Potential of Agricultural Exports to Finance Increased Food Imports in Selected Developing Countries* (IFPRI, 1978).

### Week 6 Agribusiness, Food Companies, and Global Nutrition

**A. The operation of multinational corporations in the Third World.**

Susan DeMarco and Susan Schler, *The Fields Have Turned Brown* (Washington, DC: Agribusiness Accountability Project, 1975).

Robert Ledogar, *Hungry for Profits* (NY: IDOC/No. America, 1975).

The Agribusiness Council, *Agribusiness Initiative in the Third World* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1975).

J.D. Drilon, ed., *Agribusiness Management Resource Materials* Vol. I-II (Tokyo: Asia Productivity Organization, 1968).

Richard Merrill, *Radical Agriculture* (NY: Harper & Row, 1976).

Jim Hightower, *Eat Your Heart Out* (NY: Random House, 1975).

Kimberly Albright, J.F. McClelland, and William Young, "Cooperation Between Agroindustry and the UN", *Food Policy* 2:1 (Feb. 1977).

Brian Bolton, "Agribusiness and the UN: A Critical Review", *Food Policy*, 2:3 (Aug. 1977).

### B. Nutritional value of modern process food.

Ross Hume Hall, *Food for Nought: The Decline in Nutrition* (NY: Random House, 1974).

Wm. Robbins, *The American Food Scandal* (NY: Wm. Morrow, 1974).

## PART II: NATIONAL FOOD POLICIES AND STRUCTURES

### National Food and Agriculture Policies and Politics (4 wks)

Much of the international political economy of food centers around the interaction of very different national food policies. Often domestic political interests and priorities play an important role in shaping the international policies nations advance on topics such as agricultural trade, food aid, grain reserves, and self-sufficiency. It is impossible to cover all countries' food and agricultural systems. The course, therefore, will examine four countries whose policies are particularly important, both in international food policies and as "models" which other countries emulate: the United States, the USSR, China and India.

### Week 7 The United States

### A. Traditional bases of US farm policy and change in policy resulting from 1972-74 food crisis.

I.M. Destler, "United States Food Policy 1962-6: Reconciling Domestic and International Objectives", *International Organization*, 32:3 (Summer 1978).

Leslie H. Gelb and Anthony Lake, "Washington Dateline: Less Food, More Politics", *Foreign Policy* (Winter, 1974-5).

Lyle Schertz and Byron Bernston, "The New Politics of Food", *World Development*, 5:5-7 (May/June 1977).

Mary Ryan and Willard Cochrane, *American Farm Policy, 1948-1973* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1976).

John Dunlop and Kenneth Fedor, eds., *The Lessons of Wage and Price Controls – The Food Sector* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977)..

### B. The politics of surplus production.

U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *Agriculture-Food Policy Review* (Washington, DC: Jan. 1977).

Don Paarlberg, "The New US Farm Policies", *Food Policy* (Aug. 1977).

J.B. Penn and W.H. Brown, *Impacts of Reverting to Basic Legislation when the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 and Rice Production Act of 1975 Expire* (Washington, DC: USDA, ERS, Aug. 1976).

### Week 8 The USSR

Roy D. Laird, Joseph Hajda and Betty A. Laird, eds., *The Future of Agriculture in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977).

"Central Committee Meets on Agriculture", *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, XXX:27 (Aug. 2, 1978).

Jack Dunman, *Agriculture: Capitalist and Socialist* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975).

Sidney Ploss, *Conflict and Decision-making in Soviet Russia: A Case Study of Agricultural Policy 1953-63* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965).

### Week 9 China

Suzanne Paine, "Balanced Development: Maoist Conceptions and Chinese Practice", *World Development* 4:7 (1976).

Leslie T.C. Kuo, *Agriculture in the People's Republic of China* (NY: Praeger, 1976).

Victor D. Lippit, *Land Reform and Economic Development in China* (White Plains, NY: Int'l Arts and Sciences Press, 1974).

Jung-Chao Liu, *China's Fertilizer Economy* (Chicago: Aldine Publ. Co., 1970).

Kalyani Bandyopadhyaya, *Agricultural Development in China and India* (New Dehli: Wiley Eastern Ltd., 1976).

Albert Ravenholt, "Food and Diet in the People's Republic of China", *Food Policy*, Vol. 2 (1977).

### Week 10 India

Govt. of India, Planning Commission, *Draft Five-Year Plan*, 1978-83 (New Delhi: Govt. of India, 1978).

Michael Lipton, *Why the Poor Stay Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977).

B.M. Bhatia, *India's Food Problem and Policy Since Independence* (Bombay: Somaiya Publications, 1970).

John Mellor, *The New Economics of Growth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1976).

Kalyani Bandyopadhyaya, *Agricultural Development in China and India* (New Dehli: Wiley Eastern, 1976).

Marcus Franda, "India: Foodgrain Surplus and Rising Prices", *Food Policy*, Vol. 2 (1977).

Pran Chopra, "An Indian Perspective on National Food Policies", *Food Policy*, Vol. 2 (1977).

## PART III. GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY STRATEGIES

### Week 11 Food Aid

#### A. U.S. Food aid: P.L. 480.

F.M. Lappe and J. Collins, *Food First*, 323-372.

Uma Srivastava, *Food Aid: International Economic Growth* (Ames, IA: Iowa State Univ. Press, 1975).

#### B. Food aid oriented toward development.

Thomas Reese Saylor, "A New Legislative Mandate for American Food Aid", in Brown and Shue, *Food Policy*, *199-211*.

John Osgood Field and Mitchel Wallerstein, "Beyond Humanitarianism: A Developmental Perspective of American Food Aid", in Brown and Shue, *Food Policy*, 259-274.

John Sommer, *Beyond Charity: U.S. Voluntary Aid for a Changing Third World* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1977).

Henry Shue, "Distributive Criteria for Development Assistance", in Brown and Shue, *Food Policy*, 305-318.

### Week 12 Grain Reserves

Tim Josling, "Grain Reserves and Government Agricultural Policies", *World Development* 5:5-7 (1977).

U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *Analyses of Grain Reserves* (Washington, DC: USDA, Aug. 1976).

A.H. Sarris, P.C. Abbot, and Lance Taylor, *Grain Reserves, Emergency Relief and Food Aid* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, Mar. 1977).

Panos Konandreas, Barbara Huddleston and Virabongsa Ramangkura, *Food Security: An Insurance Approach* (Washington, DC: IFPRI, Sept. 1978).

D. Gale Johnson, "Increased Stability of Grain Supplies in Developing Countries: Optimal Carryovers and Insurance", in Jagdish Bhagwati, ed., *The New International Economic Order: The North-South Debate* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977).

A. Sarris and L. Taylor, "Cereal Stocks, Food Aid, and Food Security for the Poor", in Bhagwati, *The New International Economic Order*.

### Week 13 Power and Food: Dependence and Its Alternatives

F.M. Lappe and J. Collins, *Food First*.

Henry Nau, "The Diplomacy of World Food: Goals, Capabilities, Issues an Arenas", *International Organization*, 32:3 (Summer 1978).

Emma Rothchild, "Food Politics", *Foreign Affairs*, 52:4 (Jan. 1976).

Cheryl Christensen, "Food and National Security", in Klaus Knorr and Frank Trager, eds., *Economic Issues and National Security* (Lawrence, KS: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977).

Carlos F. Diaz-Alejandro, "Delinking North and South: Unshackled or Unhinged?", in Albert Fishlow et al., *Rich and Poor Nations in the World Economy* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

# Diet for a Small Planet

**Gigi Berardi** Summer 1979
Natural Resources 230 / University of Maryland, Baltimore / Baltimore, MD 21201

## TEXTS

**Required:**

Lester Brown with E. Eckholm, *By Bread Alone* (NY: Praeger, 1974).

Frances Moore Lappe, *Diet For a Small Planet* (revised) (NY: Ballantine, 1975).

Catherine Lerza and Michael Jacobson, *Food For People, Not For Profit* (NY: Ballantine, 1975).

**Recommended:**

Alan Berg, *The Nutrition Factor* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1973).

Reid Reynolds, ed., *Concerned Demography (emerging population alternatives)* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1974).

**Reference:**

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, *Food First!* (Burlington, MA: Houghton-Mifflin, 1977).

## GRADES

No midterm or final exam. Attendance and participation—40%; weekly papers (3)—60%.

**Weekly Papers—due each Monday: June 11, 18 and 25:**

The weekly paper must be a minimum of 5 pages, typed,and will have a specified format. The content of the paper must include a brief synthesis and critique of readings, handouts and lecture material, as well as library research. Each paper will count 20% towards your grade.

## COURSE OUTLINE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

**Week 1—Dimensions of the Problem** — June 4-7

**June 4 Introduction**

Movie: "3900 Million and One"

**June 5 Setting of the World Food Situation**

Basic readings:

*Food for People, Not for Profit* (hereinafter cited as FFPNFP), Introduction, 1-29.

*By Bread Alone* (hereinafter cited as BBA), Ch. 1, "Overview: The Changing Face of Food Scarcity".

"Food Crisis—Myths that Paralyze Us".

**June 6 Population: Facts and Myths**

Movie: "Blood of the Condor"

Basic readings:

*The Nutrition Factor*, Ch. 3. (Improved Nutrition and the Population Dilemma.) "Sterilization".

*Concerned Demography*, "The Ideology of Population Control", 13-17; "Population Growth and Social Development", 43-45; "Reviews", 46-51.

Suggested further readings:
"How Poverty Breeds Overpopulation".
James E. Kocher, *Rural Development, Income Distribution, and Fertility Decline* (NY: Population Council, 1973), Chs. 2, 4.

**June 7 Lifeboat Ethics: The Case Against Helping the Poor**
Basic readings:
"Lifeboat Ethics, the Case Against Helping the Poor"
"Population and Food, Metaphors and the Reality"
"Food for Peace—or Politics" in FFPNFP, 273-278.
Suggested further readings:
"Triage"

**Week 2—Food Production and Food Economics—June 8, 11, 12, 13**

**June 8 Structure of U.S. Argriculture: Its Potential for Increasing Supply**
Field Trip—afternoon
Guest speaker: Kenneth Robinson, Prof. of Agricultural Economics: "Structure of U.S. Agriculture: Its Potential for Increasing Supply."
Basic readings—June 8 and 11:
*FFPNFP*, Parts I and II, 130-140.
*That We May Eat*, 55-64.
Suggested further readings:
*FFPNFP*, Part 6.

**June 11 Crop and Livestock Production: Social Considerations**
Field Trip—afternoon
Movie: ABC documentary "Green Grow the Profits"
Readings: see June 8 and
U.S. Senate Hearings

**June 12 Crop and Livestock Production: Energy Considerations**
Field Trip—afternoon
Movies: "Roots of Empire", "Who Shall Reap".
Basic readings:
"Food Production and the Energy Crisis"
*BBA*, Ch. 7, "Water & Bread"; Ch. 8, "Energy & Agriculture"; Ch. 9, "The Role of Fertilizer".
Suggested further readings:
"Energy Use in the U.S. Food System"
*BBA*, Ch. 6, "Land For Food".
*Animal Machines*

**June 13 Crop and Livestock Production: The Conflict Between Economic Efficiency and Ecological Soundness**
Field Trip—afternoon
Simulation Game: "Images" (8:00 a.m.)
Basic readings:
*BBA*, Ch. 4, "Ecological Undermining of Food Systems"
"Leave Us Alone and We'll Produce Food"
Suggested further readings:
Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (NY: Bantam, 1972).
Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (NY: Fawcet, 1978).

**Week 3—Nutrition and Malnutrition**—June 14, 15, 18

**June 14 Human Energy and Protein Needs, Diet Workshop** (Picnic!)
Movie: "Eat, Drink and Be Wary"

Basic readings:
*Diet for a Small Planet.* Parts II, III.
*BBA*. Ch. 2, "History & Georgraphy of Malnutrition": Ch. 14, "Simplifying Diets".
Suggested further readings:
*Diet for a Small Planet.* Parts I, IV.
James S. Turner, *The Chemical Feast* (NY: Viking, 1970).

**June 15 Nutritional Problems: USA**
Movie: CBS documentary "Hunger in America".
Basic readings:
*FFPFNP*, Parts 3, 5; to p. 201, 114-148, 158-162.
Suggested further readings:
William Robbins, *The American Food Scandal* (NY: Morrow, 1974), Chs. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.
"Food Stamps: Hows and Whys"
"Neighborhood Food Systems"
"Becoming an Urban Farmer"

References:
Nikki & David Goldbeck, *The Supermarket Handbook* (NY: NAL, 1976).
Michael F. Jacobson, *Eater's Digest* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
Michael G. Jacobson, *Nutrition Scoreboard* (NY: Avon, 1979).
F. M. Lappe and J. Collins, *Food First* (NY: Ballantine, 1979).

**June 18 Nutritional Problems: Abroad**
Guest Speaker: Pierre Borgoltz, U.N. Consultant: "Promotion of Bottle Feeding by Multinational Corporations".
Movie: "Bottle Babies".
Basic readings:
"Promotion of Bottle Feeding by Multinational Corporations: How Advertising and the Health Professions Have Contributed"
Alan Berg, The Nutrition Factor (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1973), Chs. 2, 5, 7.
Suggested further readings:
Alan Berg, The Nutrition Factor, Chs. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12.
"Nutritional and Health Aspects of Famine Resulting from Drought in Africa".

**June 19 International Patterns of Resource Use—Equity and the Environment**
Guest Speaker: Richard McNeil, Prof. of Natural Resources: "International Patterns of Resource Use—Equity and the Environment".
Basic readings:
Current assignment.

**June 20 Social Organization of Chinese Agriculture**
Guest Speaker: Diane Murray, Graduate student—Chinese History: "Social Organization of Chinese Agriculture"
Basic readings:
Current assignment.

**June 21 Development and Underdevelopment: Ethiopia**
Guest Speaker: Hailu Mekonnen, Graduate student from Ethiopia—Agricultural Economics: "Development and Underdevelopment: Ethiopia"
Basic readings:
Current assignment.

**June 22 Hearing Board: International Relief in the West African Drought (Food And Development Issues)**
Basic readings:
*FFPNFP*, pp. 279-286.
"PL 480: Aid for Arms and Agribusiness"

Joseph W. Willett, *World Food Situation: Problems and Prospects to 1985* (NY: Oceana, 1976), Ch. 7, "A Hungry World: The Challenge to Agriculture".

*BBA*, Ch. 15, "Hunger & Employment: Mutual Solutions"; Ch. 16, "Alleviating Insecurity: Special Measures".

Suggested further readings.

Paul Nizan, *The Trojan Horse* (NY: Fertig, 1975), 117-136, 151-169.

**June 25 Development and Underdevelopment: Guatemala**

Guest Speaker: Peter Shiras, Graduate student—Dept. of Agricultural Economics: "Development and Underdevelopment in Guatemala"

Basic readings:

Current assignment.

Suggested further readings:

*The Trojan Horse*, 221-235.

**June 26 Development and Underdevelopment: Tanzania**

Guest Speaker: Olivia Mgaza, Graduate student from Tanzania—International Nutrition "Development and Underdevelopment in Tanzania".

Basic readings:

Current assignment.

# Economics of Peace

**Sushila Gidwani** Fall 1980
Economics/School of Business / Manhattan College / The Bronx, NY 10471

## I. Introduction

A. The Quest for Peace
B. Peace: Non-violence Resolution of Conflicts or Dynamic Harmony?
C. Peace and Man

Readings:

W. L. Russel, *Peace and Power Within* (NY: Foundation Publication, 1951).
Joseph J. Fahey, *Irenology: The Study of Peace* (NY: The Christophers, 1971), pamphlet.
Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (NY: The Free Press, 1956), 67-159.
Ashley Montagu, *Man and Aggression* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973).
Seymour Melman, *The Peace Race.*
"Conflict", *International Encyclopedia of Social Science* Vol. 3, 226-241.

## II. Aspects of Human Behavior

A. The Human Being and His/Her Needs
B. The Human Being and His/Her Attributes
C. The Human Being and His/Her Driving Forces
D. The Human Being and His/Her Search for Security

## III. Formation of a Society

A. Individual Among Many
B. Need for Organization
C. Need for Values
D. Formation of Social Institutions
E. Personal Responsibilities vs. Social Responsibilities
F. Social Benefits vs. Social Costs
G. Social Responsibility: Cost or Charity?

Readings: II and III

Robert Hinde, *Biological Bases of Human Social Behavior* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1974).
David Pilbeam, *The Ascent of Man* (NY: MacMillan, 1972).
Boyce Ronsberger, "The Face of Evolution", *The New York Times Magazine* (March 3, 1974).
Sherwood Washburn, "Tools and Human Evolution", *Scientific American* (Sept. 1960).
Neil Smelser, *The Sociology of Economic Life* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963).
H. H. Garth and C. W. Mills, *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1946), 159-162.
Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1967), 117-143, 191-236.
Desmond Morris, *The Human Zoo* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1969), Chs. 1, 2, 3.
Drew & Lipson, *Values and Humanity* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1971), Chs. 1, 3, 5.

## IV. Society and Formation of Economic Systems

A. Fundamental Economic Questions

B. Determinants of Economic Systems: Human Nature and Social Values
  1. Self-interest, private property, Materialism-Capitalism
  2. Collective interest, public property, Materialism-Socialism
  3. Self discipline, trusteeship, bread-labor, basic needs-Gandhian system

C. Alternate Measures for Efficient Allocation of Resources

D. Economic Performance, Economic Goals and Economic Policies

Readings:

C. R. McConnel, *Economics* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978), Chs. 1, 2.

Kalman Goldbers, *Our Changing Economy: An Introduction to Economics* (Boston; Little, Brown, 1976), 1-14, 18-41.

R. Diwan and S. J. Gidwani, "Elements of Gandhian Economics" *Gandhi Marg*, Journal of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, (Aug. 1979), Vol. 1, No. 5.

**V. History of Economic Systems**

A. Tribal (Nomadic) Economies

B. Agrarian Economies

C. Cottage Industries

D. The Renaissance

E. Evolution of Industrial Society

Readings:

M. G. Giesbrecht, *The Evolution of Economic Society* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972), 1-116.

Max Weber, *General Economic History* (NY: Collier Books, 1961), 1-233.

Kalman Goldbers, *supra*, 49-62.

Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (NY: Basic Books, 1973), 3-45.

**VI. Economic Elements of International Conflicts** (Research Project)

A. Past Wars

B. Recent Wars
  1. Korean War
  2. Vietnamese War

C. Chilean Revolution

D. Iranian Revolution

E. Afghan Crisis

Readings:

Suzan Lee and Peter Passell, *A New Economic View of American History* (NY: Norton, 1979).

**VII. Elements of Peaceful, Humanized Economy**

A. Value Survey

B. Some Essentials

Readings:

Diwan and Gidwani, *supra*, 248-252.

Mark Lutz and Kenneth Lux, *The Challenge of Humanistic Economics* (CA: Benjamin/Cummings Publ. Co., 1979), 1-23.

G. D. Karwal, "Ancient Indian Economic Theories?", *Indian Journal of Economics* (July 1969), Vol. 1 No. 196, 1-30.

E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973), 23-62.

**VIII. Elements of Modern Capitalism**

A. Basic Premise

B. Comparative Analysis: VII and VIII

Readings:

Kalman Goldbers, *supra*, Chs. 4-11.

Douglas Dowd, *The Twisted Dream* (MA: Winthrop, 1977), 1-83.

URPE, *U. S. Capitalism in Crisis* (URPE, 1978), 9-53.

### IX. Current Economic Problems in the Rich Capitalistic Countries

A. Inflation: The Invisible Thief
B. Unemployment: Reserve Army of Unemployed
C. Growth: Cause or Cure
D. International Balance of Payments: The Oil Politics
E. Economic Democracy: Representative Capitalism
F. Revolving Unemployment: People are not Commodities
G. Rising Expectations: Can We Afford Budget Brinkmanship?

Readings:

Sidney Weintrab, *Capitalism's Inflation and Unemployment Crisis* (MA: Addison-Wesley Publ. Co., 1978).
George M. Taber, "Capitalism: Is It Working...?", *Time* (April 21, 1980), 40-55.
"Young, Black and Unemployed", *The New York Times* (March 12-15, 1979).
S. J. Gidwani, *Representative Capitalism*, unpublished paper.

### X. Elements of Modern Socialism

A. Basic Premise
B. Command vs. Demand Economies
C. Comparative Analysis: VII and X
D. State Capitalism vs. Corporate Capitalism

Readings:

R. W. Campbell, *The Soviet Type Economies* (NY: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974).
Bronstein and Fusfeld, *The Soviet Economy: A Book of Readings*, 4th ed.
John Elliott, *Comparative Economic Systems* (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1973).
Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Limits of American Capitalism* (NY: Harper & Row, 1965).

### XI. Rich Nations, Poor Nations

A. Plight of Poor Nations: Population and Poverty
B. Which Way to Prosperity? Mass-scale Production or Production by Masses?
C. Industrial vs. Indigenous Life Styles?
D. Economic Growth: Demand vs. Command
E. Industrial Economy: Can It Fulfill the Promise?

Readings:

Robert S. McNamara, *One Hundred Countries, Two Billion People: The Dimensions of Development* (NY: Praeger, 1973).
Barbra Ward, *The Lopsided World* (NY: Norton, 1968).
Radha Sinha, *Food and Poverty* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).
George Borgstrom, *The Hungry Planet* (London: CollierMacmillan, 1970).
Agarwala and Singh, eds., *The Economics of Underdevelopment* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963), 9-93.

### XII. Industrial Growth and Industrial Resources

A. Distribution of Industrial Resources
B. Distribution of Industrial Power
C. The Engineering of Underdevelopment
D. The Political Partition of Regions Endowed With Natural Resources
E. The Population Problem
F. The Rate of Technology

Readings:

United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1980
Robert O. Collins, ed., *The Partition of Africa: Illusion or Necessity* (NY: John Wiley, 1969), 51-212.
Scientific American, *Technology and Economic Development* (NY: Knopf, 1963).
Laura Randall, ed., *Economic Development: Evolution or Revolution* (Boston: Heatly, 1969), 2-8, 32-54.

*World Population* Vol. 369 (Jan. 1969).

Ronald Muller, "The Multinational Corporations and the Underdevelopment of the Third World", *Economic Development in a Revolutionary World*, 151-178.

## XIII. Sources of Global Conflict

A. A Shrinking World
B. The Spread of Humanitarianism
C. The Quest for Industrialization
D. The Rise of Nationalism
E. The Super Powers
F. Rising Expectations
G. International Economic Interdependence
H. Energy Crisis
I. Deepening of Conflicts and Question of Survival

Readings:

G. Borgstrom, *supra*, 413-459.

M. Olson and H. Landsberg, eds., *The No-Growth Society* (NY: Norton, 1973), 103-190.

J. L. Sampedro, *Decisive Forces in World Economics* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 7-17, 188-236.

G. Erb and V. Kallab, *Beyond Dependency: The Third World Speaks Out* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1975).

Øystein Noreng, *Oil Politics in the 1980s: Patterns of International Cooperation*, 1980s Project/Council on Foreign Relations (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 9-54.

## XIV. Resistance to Change and Neo-Colonialism

A. Existing Economic Institutions
B. Investment Patterns, International Trade and Economic Blocks
C. The Multinational Corporations
D. Economics of War

Readings:

Andre Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment* (NY: Monthly Press Review, 1969), 242-318.

*Foreign Policy* No. 12 (Fall 1973), 3-8, 34-37.

*The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 413 (Sept. 1972)

Seymour Melman, ed., *The War Economy of the United States* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1971), 9-23, 106-169.

*Pentagon Capitalism* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 35-106.

## XV. Strategies for the World Peace

A. International Economic Cooperation
  1. New International Economic Order
  2. Basic Needs
  3. Technology Transfer
  4. International Economic Blocks
B. Technological Advances to Supplement Natural Resources
C. Space Age: Colonization of Space
D. International Social Responsibility: Sacrifice by Rich Countries
E. Appropriate Technology
F. Alternate Economic Systems: Gandhian System

Readings:

J. Bhagwati, *The New International Economic Order: The North-South Debate* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977).

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative* (NY: Free Press, 1974).

D. Goulet, *The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer* (NY: IDOC/North America, 1978).

J. Grant, *Growth from Below: A People Oriented Development Strategy* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, Paper #16, 1973).

R. Diwan and D. Livingston, *Alternative Development Strategies and Appropriate Technology: Science Policy for an Equitable World Order* (NY: Pergamon Press, 1979).

J. Galtung, *The North-South Debate: Technology, Basic Human Needs and New International Economic Order* (NY: Institute of World Order, WOMP, Paper No. 12, 1980).

M. K. Gandhi, *Economic and Industrial Life and Relations*, V. B. Kher, ed. (Ahmadabad, India: Navajivan Publ. House, 1957), pp. xvii-cxiii.

K. L. Seshagiri, *Mahatma Gandhi and Comparative Religion* (Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsidas, 1978), 50-88.

# Technology and Society Seminar II: Problems in the Human Environment

**Steve M. Slaby**
Dept. of Civil Engineering / Princeton University / Princeton, NJ 08540

Spring 1980

### Problem Statement and "Guide-Outline"
### Appropriate Technology:
### The Transformation of Military Technological Development and Production to a Civilian and Human Needs Focus

## PROBLEM

To critically study and research the general area of the transformation of military technological development and production to a civilian and human needs focus; to critically analyze and evaluate the role of appropriate technology in the transformation process and its economic, political, social, psychological and cultural implications; to see the transformation process in an overview, including the role that U.S. universities can play; to initiate an appropriate technology "hands on" working experiment (or experiments) at Princeton from which technological and implementation knowledge and experience can be obtained; and finally to attempt to understand how (or if) the living of life to the fullest can be enhanced through appropriate technology.

## GOAL

To produce a comprehensive, jointly written, publishable final research report on: "Appropriate Technology: The Transformation of Military Technological Development and Production to a Civilian and Human Needs Focus", including case studies of appropriate technology applied to specific areas of transformation and the results of initiating and implementing an actual relevant, working experiment in appropriate technology at Princeton.

## TEAM PROJECTS

The seminar group will be divided into research-writing teams. Each team will be responsible for the development of the equivalent of one chapter in the final research report, as well as contributions to an appropriate technology experiment which will be developed by the entire seminar group.

Each team will develop its own internal organization and schedule (tied into a Master Schedule) and should select a Coordinator whose responsibilities will include the coordination of the activities of her or his team members (arranging team meetings, division of labor, overseeing work progress, keeping in contact with the Coordinators of the other teams, etc.). The Coordinators will also act as liaisons between the seminar Director and each team to develop a coordinated effort vectored towards the development of the final report. In addition, each team should select one of its members to act as the team editor of the chapter the team will develop.

An editorial group will be formed to edit the manuscript of the final report. This group will be comprised of the individual team editors and any other person the team chooses to present it in this group. The entire seminar group gives final approval and authority to the editorial group formed.

## REQUIRED COMMON READINGS

**Week 1:**

Seymour Melman, *The Permanent War Economy: American Capitalism in Decline* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1974).

**Week 2:**

Richard Barnet, *The Roots of War* (NY: Penguin, 1973).

**Week 3:**

Robert DeGrasse, Jr. et al, *Creating Solar Jobs: Options for Military Workers and Communities.*

**Week 4:**

Friends Peace Committee, *Selections from Peace Conversion Study Group.*

**Week 5:**

Robert Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #8, 1979).

**Week 6:**

E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (NY: Harper & Row, 1975).

**Week 7:**

G. McRobie, *Small is Possible.*

**Week 8:**

P. D. Dunn, *Appropriate Technology: Technology with a Human Face* (NY: Schocken, 1979).

**Week 9:**

J. Leckie et al, *Other Homes and Garbage* (SF: Sierra, 1975).

## RECOMMENDED ADDITIONAL COMMON READINGS

R. Kaufman, *The War Profiteers.*

Sidney Lens, *The Day Before Doomsday: An Anatomy of the Nuclear Arms Race* (NY: Doubleday, 1978).

Boston Study Group, *The Price of Defense: A New Strategy for Military Spending* (NY: New York Times, 1979).

A. Boserup and A. Mack, *War Without Weapons* (NY: Schocken, 1975).

K. Coates, ed., *The Right to Useful Work.*

## GUIDE-OUTLINE

**General Background**

A. Introduction; scope of study; motivation
B. The interdependency of the military-industrial-government-university complex
  1. Analysis of existing system
    a. Economics
    b. Power structure/decision making structure in corporations, government, and universities
    c. Interlinkage between military, industry, government, universities
    d. Values implied
  2. Sources of U.S. foreign policy; U.S. militarism; whose interests are being served; whose worldview is reflected.
  3. Technology of military-industrial complex; implications

4. Effects of system
    a. Economic: structural unemployment; productivity; inflation; role of U.S. military economy in U.S. economic system; economic policies, e.g., cost plus, no-bid contracts, etc.
    b. Political: influence of military-industrial complex in politics and education.
    c. Social: decay of cities; deterioration of environment; depletion of resources; perversion of priorities
5. Need for an alternative
6. Types of alternatives

### II. Appropriate Technology

A. Definition
B. Meeting human needs: providing socially useful production; job security
C. Planning to meet human needs: worker and community participation; taking responsibility
D. Development of self-sufficiency and self-reliance in a democratic context
E. Alternative futures

### III. International Security

A. Definition of national and international security
B. Failure of existing system to provide true security
C. Alternative systems: assessment
D. Implementation: problems and possibilities
E. Political, economic, social, psychological, and cultural obstacles
F. National impact
G. International effect

### IV. Transformation of Military-Industrial Complex to Meet Human Needs to Provide Socially Useful Development and Production

A. Feasibility
B. Benefits
C. Implementation
D. Obstacles
E. Effects: economic; energy and resource consumption; environment; lifestyle and attitudes
F. Role of universities and institutions of higher learning

### V. Case Studies/Proposed Programs

A. Lucas Aerospace model (worker initiated plan)
B. Ft. Dix model (Office of Economic Adjustment, the Pentagon, plan)
C. Legislative model (e.g., McGovern-Mathias bill)
D. Triden Conversion Campaign
E. Johns Hopkins Laboratory Project
F. Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project
G. Alternative Communities
H. Other studies

### VI. Preparing for Conversion and Transformation

A. Guidelines for researching the local military-industrial complex and interlinkages with government and universities
B. Guidelines for researching the needs of the community; resources; deciding priorities
C. Developing/adapting appropriate technology to the local situation

## VII. Suggested Appropriate Technology Experiments Design and Construction

A. Energy
  1. Solar collectors, design and construction/heat storage systems
  2. Windpower-Mechanical/Electrical storage systems
  3. Pedal power in agriculture, manufacturing, transportation
  4. Water power utilization of existing dam at Carnegie Lake
  5. Fuel (methane gas, etc.)
  6. Biogas—Princeton University sewage and solid waste: waste farm products in vicinity of Princeton
  7. Human solid waste as fuel: possible experiment as Ewing Township solid waste transfer station
  8. Neighborhood development of low-income community in Trenton, N.J.
B. Public transportation
C. Housing
  1. Insulation
  2. Retrofitting of solar heating and cooling
  3. Needs of handicapped and elderly
D. Food production
  1. Aquaculture
  2. Solar dryers/distillers, experimental solar dryer at old Princeton Sewage Treatment Plant
  3. Aerobic/anaerobic compost systems for fertilizer
E. Your ideas and proposals
F. Data collecting
  1. Existing resources (pick a particular example for conversion and transformation, e.g., Ft. Dix, institutions of higher learning, etc.)
  2. Experimental results, field testing
G. Actual design and construction
H. Procedure for implementation
  1. Political and social considerations
  2. Economic considerations in the context of "self-sufficiency"
  3. Grass roots organizing

## VIII. Conclusions Jointly Prepared by all Teams

# F

# Human Rights

International Human Rights as an Aspect of World Politics
Laurie Wiseberg

Human Rights in Latin America
Margaret E. Crahan

Human Rights in International Perspective
Daniel Hirsch

Human Rights and Foreign Policy
Henry Shue

New Perspectives on World Order:
Peace and Justice from the Victim's Viewpoint
David A. Robinson

# International Human Rights as an Aspect of World Politics

**Laurie S. Wiseberg**
Columbia University / New York, NY 10027

Spring 1979

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This is a senior/graduate level course and your course grade will, consequently, depend upon your participation in the colloquium and on a major research project that you will complete during the semester. The last weeks of the course will be devoted to your oral presentations or written assignments to be handed in the last day of class.

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

**Some Required Reading:**

(Other material will be indicated below, with specific reference to topics discussed.)

Asbjorn Eide, *Human Rights in the World Society: Norms, Reality, and the International System of Protection* (Norway, Spring, 1977).

Amnesty International, *Annual Report, 1978.*

Four Treaties Pertaining to Human Rights, Message from the President of the United States transmitting the Treaties to the U.S. Senate for Ratification, with the reservations February 23, 1978.

The White House Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration: December 6, 1978. Speeches by President Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Partricia Derian.

Cyrus Vance, Law Day Speech before the University of Georgia's Law School, April 30, 1977.

State Department, Human Rights Report, 1979. (We will analyze these along with the expected response to the reports by the Human Rights Working Group of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.)

International Human Rights Kit, ed. Robert Woito, World Without War Council, 1977, Chicago—contains the text of many of the international human rights treaties, policy statements, and other articles.

David Weissbrodt, "United States Ratification of the Human Rights Covenants", *Minnesota Law Review* Vol. 63, No. 1 (Nov. 1978), 35-78.

**Basic Bibliographical Resources:**

*Human Rights Internet Newsletter*, began publication July 1976. Now (9/yr) in Vol. 4. Provides information of recent publications of academics, NGO's, IGO's, government documents, and especially on the activities of non-governmental organizations in the field of human rights.

*Checklist of Human Rights Documents* (Tarlton Law Library, University of Texas at Austin). Continuing bibliography, monthly; began publication January 1976. Particularly good on U.N. documents and other inter-governmental and governmental documents. Also, books, articles.

*Notre Dame University, Centre for Civil Rights*, Human Rights Bibliographies, 1970-75 and 1965-69.

(For other bibliographies, consult HRI Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 5.)

**I. Introduction**

A. Human rights as an emergent field in the social sciences.

B. Human rights as a global issue and as an aspect of U.S. foreign policy.

**Required reading:**

The White House Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration, December 6, 1978. Speeches by President Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Patricia Derian.

C. The "definers" of the issue: philosophers, legal scholars and practitioners, governments, non-govermental organizations, inter-governmental policy-makers.

D. U.S. ratification of the U.N. Covenants: A Question of Principle and a Question of Politics (Feb. 1, 1979).

**Required reading:**

Four Treaties Pertaining to Human Rights, Message from the President, Feb. 23, 1978.

David Weissbrodt, "United States Ratification of the Human Rights Covenants:, *Minnesota Law Review* Vol. 63, No. 1, (Nov. 1978), 35-78.

**Further reading:**

President Carter's First Speech to the United Nations, March 17, 1977 in *International Human Rights Kit.*

Reasons for Not Ratifying, in *ibid.*

Donald T. Fox, "Human Rights and Prospects for U.S. Ratification", *3 Human Rights 243* (Fall 1973), 274-81.

Bruno V. Bitker, "Remarks on U.S. Policy Ratification of the International Human Rights Conventions" *II Human Rights Journal* No. 4 (1969), p. 657.

Berg and Schmidhauser, "American Bar Association and the Human Rights Conventions: The Political Significance of Private Professional Associations" *38 Social Research* (Summer 1971), 362-410.

American Bar Association, *International Human Rights Treaties, the Rule of Law and the United States – A Time of Decision* (publication of the Standing Committee on World Order Under Law, Sept. 1978).

Thomas Buergenthal and Judith Torney, *International Human Rights and International Education* (Washington: U.S. Commission for UNESCO, 1976), Ch. 5, "United States and International Human Rights", 86-101.

### II. The Evolution of International Norms and Law

A. The nature of international norms and law as a regulating mechanism in the international system.

B. An historical perspective
  1. the promotion and protection of international human rights prior to World War I
  2. the League of Nations to the United Nations
  3. the United Nations and Beyond (a new corpus of law).

C. A conceptual perspective
  1. the evolution of civil and political rights
  2. the development of economic, social and cultural rights.
  3. third generation (or "solidarity" rights).

D. A political perspective
  1. rights relating to the integrity of the person (core rights)
  2. the First World, Socialist World, and Third World Perspectives
  3. rights in conflict and prioritization among rights
  4. human rights and other values, with particular reference to conflict between the needs of "national security" and human rights standards.

**Required reading:**

Asbjorn Eide, *Human Rights in the World Society: Norms and Reality.*

Cyrus Vance, Law Day Speech.

**Further reading:**

Eugene Kamenka, ed., *Ideas and Ideologies: Human Rights* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

Louis Henkin, *The Rights of Man Today* (NY: Westview Press, 1978).

Maurice Cranston, *What are Human Rights?* (NY: Taplinger, 1973).

Imre Szabo, ed., *Socialist Concept of Human Rights* (Budapest, 1966).

Asbjorn Eide and August Schou, eds., *International Protection of Human Rights*, Proceedings of the 7th Nobel Symposium, Oslo, September 1967 (NY: Interscience Publishers, 1968).

D. D. Raphael, ed., *Political Theory and the Rights of Man* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1967).

David H. Bayley, *Public Liberties in the New States* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964).

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971).

Vernon Van Dyke, *Human Rights, the United States and the World Community* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970).

Ivo Duchacek, *Rights and Liberties in the World Today* (Santa Barbara: CLIO Press, 1976).

Louis Sohn and Thomas Buergenthal, eds., *International Protection of Human Rights* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1973) (This is a 4 volume set of documents and text.)

Richard Claude, *Comparative Human Rights* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976).

A. I. Melden, *Human Rights* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1970).

Abul A'la Mawdudi, *Human Rights in Islam* (The Islamic Foundation, 1976).

Moses Moskowitz, *International Concern with Human Rights* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana, 1975).

R. Christopher Hill, ed., *Rights and Wrongs: Some Essays on Human Rights* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1969).

Adamantia Pollis and Peter Schwab, eds., *Human Rights: Ideological and Cultural Perspectives* (NY: Praeger, 1979).

## III. Inter-Governmental Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights

A. Some introductory distinctions – between promotion and protection; between supranational and inter-national; between universal and regional systems.

B. The United Nations System with particular reference to

1. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights
2. The Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and its Working Group
3. The United Nations Committee on Human Rights
4. UNESCO
5. the ILO

**Required reading:**

*United Nations Action in the Field of Human Rights* (U.N., 1974) (For reference).

T. C. Van Boven, "The UN and Human Rights", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* (1977), No. 3, special issue.

**Further reading:**

John H. Humphrey, "The Implementation of International Human Rights Law", *New York Law School Law Review* Vol. 39, No. 1 (1978).

Antonio Cassesse, "The United Nations Procedures for the Implementation of Human Rights – The Role that Lawyers Can Play Therein", *International Human Rights Law and Practice* ed. by James C. Tuttle, American Bar Association, (March 1978).

Theo C. Van Boven, "Human Rights Fora at the United Nations. How to Select and to Approach the Most Appropriate Forum. What Procedural Rules Govern?"

ILO, *The Impact of International Labour Conventions and Recommendations* (Geneva, ILO, 1976).

C. The European System of Human Rights Protection

**Recommended reading:**

Note: an extensive bibliography exists relating to the European Convention on Human Rights. *Bibliography Relating to the European Convention on Human Rights* (Strasbourg, Council of Europe, February 1978). Also, note:

A. H. Robertson, *Human Rights in Europe* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1977).

Francis G. Jacobs, *European Convention on Human Rights* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975).

F. Castberg, *The European Convention on Human Rights* (NY: 1974).

Anne M. Williams, "The European Convention on Human Rights: A New Use?", *Texas International Law Journal*, Vol. 21, Nos. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 1977), 279-292.

*The Greek Case*, Report of the European Commission of Human Rights and Resolution of the Committee of Ministers of 15 April 1970 (The Hague: Martinuf Nijhoff, 1972).

D. The Inter-American System

**Recommended reading:**

Anna P. Schreiber, *The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights* (Leyden: Sijhoff, 1970).

Lawrence J. LeBlanc, *The OAS and the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1976).

Inter-American Commission, *OAS, Handbook of Existing Rules Pertaining to Human Rights* (Washington, DC: 1978).

Inter-American Commission, *OAS, Annual Report 1977* (Washington, DC: 1978).

Tom J. Farer, "The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights" in James C. Tuttle, ed., *International Human Rights Law and Practice* (ABA, 1978).

Thomas Buergenthal, "The Revised OAS Charter and the Protection of Human Rights", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 69 (Oct. 1975), 645-657.

E. The Helsinki System

**Recommended reading:**

Thomas Buergenthal, ed., *Human Rights, International Law and the Helsinki Accord* (NY: Allanheld, Osmum/Universe Books, 1977).

Erich and Marilyn Weingartner, *Human Rights is More Than Human Rights* (Rome: IDOC International, 1977).

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Reports of the Helsinki Monitors in the Soviet Union, 3 volumes (1977-1978).

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, several volumes of hearings the past few years.

F. Regional and Other Mechanisms

**Recommended reading:**

B. G. Ramcharan, "Human Rights in Africa: Whiter Now?" *University of Ghana Law Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1975).

A. H. Robertson, "African Legal Process and the Individual", *Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 5, Nos. 2-3 (1972), 465-474.

Laurie S. Wiseberg, "Human Rights in Africa: A Moral Stand or Moralism?", *Common Ground*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter 1978), 43-55.

# Human Rights in Latin America

**Margaret E. Crahan** Fall 1980
Dept. of History / City University of New York / New York, NY 10019

The purpose of this course is to develop your capacity to think analytically and to express yourselves coherently and convincingly, both orally and in writing. The course has the additional objective of demonstrating how history is made, reconstructed and interpreted. To accomplish all these goals the course will focus on one of the major problems afflicting the modern world – the widespread violation of human rights. To give the course focus we will analyze the underlying causes of such violations in Latin America, and some of the local, national and international responses to them.

The course will begin with an exploration of the nature and extent of human rights violations in Latin America as reported by the U.S. Department of State, the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the World Council of Churches, as well as other groups. Each student will select a particular country and become an "expert" on the situation there. The underlying reasons for the observance or non-observance of human rights will be examined by analyzing normative values, cultural traditions, ideological developments, and sociopolitical and economic elements of the societies being studied. Variations of interpretations will be highlighted and students will be expected to critique them, as well as develop their own explanations of violations that are well-rooted in factual data. This will involve study of such major institutions as the military, churches, labor organizations, and political parties. The degree to which these have modified or expanded their traditional roles in recent years in Latin America will be explored in detail.

## REQUIREMENTS OF COURSE

1. Each student will select on September 15, 1980 a Latin American country that he or she will become an "expert" on.
2. Students will be expected to do the assigned reading prior to the date it will be discussed in class. Heavy emphasis will be placed on the students participating in these discussions and one-fifth of the final grade will be determined by the quality of the students' contributions.
3. Written reports by each student are due on September 30, 1980 on the condition of Human Rights in the specific country he or she selected and on November 11, 1980 on role of the military in promoting or violating human rights in the specific country the student has specialized in. There will be no exemptions from these deadlines.
4. Exams will be given on October 14, 1980 and December 15, 1980 on the material covered in the course up to those dates.

## REQUIRED READINGS

Center for International Policy, *Human Rights and the U.S. Foreign Assistance Program.*

Richard R. Fagen, "The Carter Administration and Latin America: Business as Usual?" *Foreign Affairs* 57:3 (Feb. 1979), 652-69.

Daniel H. Levine, ed., *Churches and Politics in Latin America* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980).

Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr., eds., *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1978).

Alfred Stepan, "The United States and Latin America: Vital Interests and the Instruments of Power", *Foreign Affairs*, 58:3 (Feb. 1980), 659-692.

## GUIDELINES FOR WRITTEN REPORTS AND EXAMS

Written reports should be approximately 8-12 pages, typewritten and double-spaced. They should be well-organized and clearly written, as well as proofread prior to turning them in.

A. The following questions should be answered in the September 30, 1980 report:
   1. What are the basic geographic, demographic, political, economic and social characteristics of the country. This should be presented in no more than 2 paragraphs.
   2. What is the current (1980) level of violations in each country and what has been the record over the past ten years?
   3. What political and economic factors promote or discourage human rights observance in each country?
   4. Is there any relationship between violations of civil/political rights and social/economic rights?

B. The following questions should be answered in the November 1, 1980 report:
   1. What is the current political role of the military in the country you are specializing in?
   2. What is the record of the military with respect to human rights in the country you are working on?
   3. If there are major violations what characterisitics of the military contribute to them?
   4. If the military in your country is not a major violator of human rights, what are the reasons?

C. The following questions should be kept in mind in studying for the October 14, 1980 exam:
   1. How do normative values affect human rights observance in the country you are studying?
   2. Does culture affect the definition of human rights and their observance?
   3. What ideological factors are operative in determining human rights observance in your country?

D. The following questions should be kept in mind in studying for the December 15, 1980 exam:
   1. Should priority be given to the satisfaction of basic human needs over civil/political rights?
   2. What national economic and political factors affect human rights observance in the country you are studying?
   3. What international economic and political factors affect human rights observance in the country you are studying?

## COURSE CALENDAR

**Sept. 15 Introduction** to course and survey of human rights situation in Latin America.

**Sep. 16-29 Human Rights Situation in Individual Countries**

Amnesty International Reports.

InterAmerican Commission on Human Rights: Country Reports.

U.S. Congress: Human Rights Conditions in Selected Countries and U.S. Response (July 25, 1978).

U.S. Congress: Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1979.

U.S. Congress: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1979 (Feb. 4, 1980).

Woodstock Center, "Theses and Hypotheses on Human Rights".

**Sept. 30 Written report due** on the Human Rights situation in each student's country. Discussion of each country.

**Oct. 6-7 Normative Values and Human Rights Observance**

John Haughey, "Individualism and Rights in Karl Marx".

Alfred Hennelly, "Latin American Theology and Human Rights".

David Hollenbach, "Global Human Rights: An Interpretation of the Contemporary Catholic Understanding".

John Langan, "Defining Human Rights: A Revision of the Liberal Tradition".

Max Stackhouse, "A Protestant Perspective on Human Rights".

**Oct. 13 Ideology and Human Rights**

Morris J. Blackman and Ronald G. Hellman, eds., *Terms of Conflict: Ideology in Latin American Politics* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1977).

Ignacio Ellacuria, "Human Rights in a Divided Society".

Hernan Montealegre, "State Security and Human Rights".

June Nash and Juan Corradi et al., eds., *Ideology and Social Change in Latin America* (NY: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1977).

**Oct. 20-21**

David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980).

Margaret E. Crahan, "The State and the Individual in Latin America: Some Implications for Human Rights".

James Malloy, ed., *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1972).

John Leddy Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy", *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5 (June 1960).

Frederick B. Pike and Thomas Stritch, *The New Corporatism: Social-Political Structures in the Iberian World* (Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1974).

**Oct. 20-21**

Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970).

**Oct. 27 The Military: Historical Role**

Loveman and Davies, Jr., eds., *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1978), 3-88.

**Oct. 28 Ideological Evolution of the Military**

Loveman and Davies, pp. 173-222.

**Nov. 3 The Evolution of the Military as an Institution**

Margaret E. Crahan, "The Evolution of the Military in Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, and Mexico: Some Implications for Human Rights".

Loveman and Davies, pp. 89-172.

**Nov. 10 National Security Doctrine and Human Rights**

Robert Calvo, "The Church and the Doctrine of National Security", in Levine, pp. 135-154.

Margaret E. Crahan, "National Security Doctrine and Human Rights in Latin America: The Southern Cone".

**Nov. 11 Written report due** on role of military in human rights observance by country. There will be no extensions. Conclusions of the reports will be discussed in class.

**Nov. 17 Economic and Social Factors Affecting Human Rights Observance**

Loveman and Davies, pp. 223-305.

Organizacion de Estados Americanos, "La problema de la pobreza en America Latina y la nueva politica de necesidades basicas", (1978).

Francisco Thoumi "Human Rights, Basic Human Needs and Some Economic Policy Implications for LDCs", (IDB).

**Nov. 18 Current Economic Conditions**
World Bank: Annual Reports.
OAS: Country Surveys.
Interamerican Development Bank: Country Indicators.

**Nov. 24 Poverty and Development: Theories and Strategies**
Elizabeth Dore and John Weeks, "Basic Needs Strategy: Journey of a Concept".
Drew Christiansen, "Basic Needs: Criterion for the Legitimacy of Development".

**Nov. 25 Basic Needs Strategies in Representative Countries**
Dore and Weeks, "Economic Performance and Basic Needs in Six Latin American Countries".

**Dec. 1 International Economic Actors and Basic Needs**
Theodore H. Moran, "Multinational Corporations and Dependency: A Dialogue for Dependistas and NonDependistas", *International Organization*, 32 (Winter 1978), 79-100.
Fernando Enrique Cardoso, "The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States", *Latin American Research Review*, xii, 3 (1977), 7-24.

**Dec. 2 U.S. Institutions and Programs**
Loveman and Davies, pp. 145-172.
Constantine Michalopoulos, "Basic Needs Strategies: Some Policy Implementation Issues for the U.S. Bilateral Assistance Program".

**Dec. 8 International Multilateral Financial Institutions: The Case of the International Monetary Fund**

**Dec. 9 Private Capital and Basic Needs**
John A. Willoughby, "International Capital Flows and Basic Needs in Latin America".

**Dec. 15 EXAM** on all course material to date. No exemptions from the exam.

**Dec. 16 Non-Governmental Organizations and Human Rights in Latin America**
John A. Coleman, "David vs. Goliath: The Role of International Non-Governmental Organizations in Implementing Human Rights".

**Dec. 22 The Churches and Human Rights in Latin America**
Brian H. Smith, "Churches and Human Rights in Latin America: Recent Trends on the Subcontinent", in Levine, pp. 155-194.
Levine, pp. 195-280.

**Dec. 23 U.S. Human Rights Policy**
Richard R. Fagen, "The Carter Administration and Latin America: Business as Usual?" *Foreign Affairs* 57:3 (Feb. 1979), 652-669.

**Dec. 23**
Lars Schoultz, "The Carter Administration and Human Rights".
Alfred Stepan, "The United States and Latin America: Vital Interests and the Instruments of Power", *Foreign Affairs*, 58:3 (Feb. 1980), 659-692.

**1981**

**Jan. 5 Review:**
What Are the Causes of Human Rights Violations in Latin America?

**Jan. 6 Review:**
What Factors Affect How Different Interpreters Establish These Causes?

**Jan. 11 Review:**
What Factors Affect the Strategies Devised to Combat Human Rights Violations?

**Jan. 12 Review**

# Human Rights in International Perspective

**Daniel Hirsch** Winter 1978
Council on Educational Development / University of California at Los Angeles / Los Angeles, CA 90024

In an era which is often viewed as having progressed significantly from the brutality of "darker" times, torture and imprisonment for personal belief continue to a disturbing degree. Considerable attention has recently been focused on this issue by the Carter Administration and by recent legislation of the Congress, particularly section 502B of the foreign assistance act which creates a mechanism whereby Congress may cut military and economic aid to any nation which "engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights".

Because of the increasing interest in human rights, particularly as the issue relates to policy decisions, a critical examination of the issues involved with human rights seems in order.

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course will examine human rights both from an international and an interdisciplinary perspective. It will deal first with the historical development of the concept of human rights and then survey the degree to which these rights are observed at present throughout the world. The relation of political and economic systems to observation of human rights will be discussed as violations of such rights are examined in Communist countries, non-aligned nations, and those states aligned with the industrialized West.

The course will look critically at the various theories which attempt to explain the causation of violations of human rights from both a political science and social psychology perspective. It will also examine the methods variously advocated for enforcing human rights, particularly actions by international agencies and non-governmental organizations. In addition, the course will deal with the widely perceived conflict between economic and political rights, the problem of bias and impartiality in concern for human rights, and the manner in which human rights issues have been dealt with in literature. Finally, we will examine Dostoevsky's contention that if one wishes to understand a society one need only know whom it jails and how it treats them.

## COURSE GOALS

The course attempts to deal with a timely subject in an interdisciplinary manner—combining questions of political science and economics with questions of ethics and data from social psychologists, all tempered with the insights of literature. The human rights vantage point provides a unique way of viewing nations, that is, in terms of their human rights records, while raising at the same time questions about public policy and human behavior.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Students will be required to complete a term paper, final examination, and an oral presentation. The term paper and final exam will each be worth 40% of the grade; the oral presentation 20%.

Term papers will be on subjects chosen by the student in consultation with the instructor. Sample topics: "The role of the U.S. delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission since 1973","The implications of the Milgram and Zimbardo Experiments with the behavior of torturers", and "Bias in human rights: NGO's". It is strongly urged that students meet with the instructor.

The final is intended as reflective, giving the student an opportunity to express conclusions s/he has arrived at with regards the central questions raised in the class. Students will be judged not on the conclusion reached but the quality of the argument made on its behalf and the evidence marshalled in its defense.

## COURSE OUTLINE

### Week 1 1/10

General overview of the subject of human rights. Discussion of the competing definitions of "human rights", the development of the concept historically, and the variety of violations of these rights. Introduction to the basic human rights questions: Are there some rights which are inviolate, or are there situations in which some rights may be violated to defend "larger" rights, and, if so, under what conditions? How can one explain the various behaviors of torturers and their victims, the collaboration in such brutalities by attending physicians, and acquiescence in and support by people in power in governments whose policy it is to treat their dissidents with such brutality? To what degree are human rights issues raised by persons or governments selectively, i.e., with political bias? What policy options are available for the Government of the United States that would improve the human rights situation abroad, and what are the pitfalls in these policy options?

### Week 2 1/17

Film: "Last Grave at Dimbaza". Discussion of the basic human rights documents, centering around the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the ancillary Covenants and Protocols. We will divide the *Universal Declaration* into two parts—those rights which are essentially political and those which are primarily economic and social—and examine how this split complicates international understanding and observance of the documents. (The course will focus on those human rights which are essentially political, with special emphasis placed on Articles 5, 9, 18, and 19 of the *Universal Declaration.*)

Presentation of case studies of "prisoners of conscience". Dividing the world into three political subworlds nonaligned, Communist and Communist-allied, and Western and Western-allied we will discuss in very broad terms the general observance of human rights in these three areas of the world.

Readings:
Amnesty International, *Report on Torture* (NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1975).
*Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*
Daniel Hirsch, "To Abolish Torture".
Reza Baraheni, "The Shah's Executioner".
Ron Sirak, "Torture Has Become Routine in Over 60 Countries".
Kefa Sempangi, "Hope in the Face of Genocide".
Case Sheets on Simon Assidon, Irmgard and Hellmut Gerisch, Bodha Prasad Upadhyaya, and Balbino Rivas.
Jean-Pierre Clavel, "Torture, and Official Way of Life in 30 Countries".

### Week 3 1/24

Guest speaker: Professor Eugenio Velasco, former Dean, University of Chile School of Law, former Ambassador from Chile to several African nations, expelled from Chile in August 1976 for defense of human rights. Topic: "The Human Rights Situation in Chile". Discussion of human rights situation in developing nations allied with the industrialized West. Overview of the situation in Brazil, Uruguay, Iran, South Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Discussion of the exchange of torture technology and the cooperation between the security forces of countries in the "southern cone" of Latin America.

**Readings:**
Eugenio Velasco, "Dissolution of Chile's Police Agency: A 'Farce' ".
"The DINA and Their Secret Detention and Torture Centers (Villa Grimaldi and

others)", an extract from a UN Report of Oct. 1976.
"Interview with Fred Morris".
Robert Maurer, "With Style But No Grace: The Quiet, Systematic Suppression of Human Rights in Paraguay".
"Tortured to Death in Uruguay: 22 Cases".
"Letter from Mr. Selmar Balbi About the Death of his Son, Alvaro Balbi".
"Torture in Uruguay Confirmed by Army Officer".
Tom Quigley, "Uruguay: A Torture State".
Report on Torture, pp. 203-210, 243-282.

**Week 4 1/31**

Guest speaker: Don Luce, one of the discoverers of the "tiger cages" in South Vietnam in 1970 and Co-Director of Clergy and Laity Concerned, a national human rights group. Luce recently visited Iran, Thailand, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Topic: "U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights".

We will discuss possible strategies for governmental action by the United States, as well as the ensuing dilemmas.

1) The controversy over section 502B of the foreign assistance act which mandates that aid be denied to countries which consistently violate human rights.

2) The controversy over U.S. training, arming and funding of foreign police, prison and military systems in countries which violate such rights.

3) The question of aid to such countries through multilateral agencies in which the U.S. participates.

4) The dilemma regarding speaking publicly about human rights in the Soviet Union and thus facing, for example, more difficult arms control negotiations, or a renewed heating up of the Cold War.

**Readings:**

Center for International Policy, "Foreign Aid: Evading the Control of Congress".
State Dept., "Human Rights and U.S. Policy: Argentina, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Peru, and the Philippines", reports submitted to the Committee on International Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives by the State Department.
"Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy", a response by Non-Governmental Organizations.
Jim Forest, "Vietnam: Unification Without Reconciliation"."Citizen's Action Guide to Human Rights"."Indonesia: An Asian Gulag".
Ron Freund, "Carter and Human Rights in the National Interest.
U.S. Govt. Accounting Office, "Stopping U.S. Assistance to Foreign Police and Prisons."
"South Korea Frees 14 Foes of Regime", New York Times, July 11, 1977.

**Week 5 2/7**

The non-aligned nations. We will focus on the experience of India under Mrs. Gandhi's State of Emergency. Special attention will be paid to the ironies at work when Indira Gandhi, who has herself been briefly imprisoned under colonial rule, sent to jail thousands of followers of "Mahatma" Gandhi, the late independence leader. Guest speaker: Mr. Robert Cleaves, a close associate of James Kruger, the Minister of Justice in South Africa. Topic: "A Defense of the Human Rights Record of South Africa". Mr. Cleaves will also discuss allegations of human rights violations by black liberation movements in southern Africa.

**Readings:**

Sections on South Africa and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe in *Report on Torture and Amnesty International Annual Report* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1977).
Perry Perkins, "The Loss of Steve Biko".
"Exchange of Correspondence Between Professor Richard Cross and then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi".

"Open Letter from Jayaprakash Narayan to Indira Gandhi".
"Rhodesia/Zimbabwe: Tactics of Terror" in *Matchbox* (Fall, 1977).

**Week 6 2/14**
Methods of enforcing observance of human rights. Focus on the human rights activities of the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity, and the Council of Europe. The effectiveness of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in working for human rights, focusing on the following NGO's: the International Commission of Jurists, the International League for Human Rights, Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Human Rights Working Group.

Guest speaker: Professor Frederic Kirgis, Professor of International Law, UCLA. Topic: "International Law Pertaining to Human Rights".

**Readings:**
'Human Rights in International Law".
*Report on Torture*, pp. 70-113.
*Amnesty International Annual Report*, pp. 9-44.
"The International League for Human Rights: An Introduction".
"AI Experiments with Pigs (Background Notes)". Francis Kent, "The Roots of Human Rights Lie in Antiquity".
Margo Picken, "Rights and Freedoms: The International Covenants", *Matchbox*, pp. 6-7.
"The Final Act: Movement Toward Implementation", interview with Ed Kline, *Matchbox*, pp. 10-13.

**Week 7 2/21**
The Communist world. We will focus on the Soviet Union, briefly in addition China, Cuba, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Cambodia. The difference between the Vietnam and Cambodian experience will be examined, the recent human rights movement in Czechoslovakia reviewed, and the open admissions about and justifications given for the maintenance of political prisons in Cuba discussed. Focusing on the Soviet Union, we will study some of the *samizdat* documents, the illegal and unofficial literature circulated clandestinely by Soviet dissidents. In addition, we will examine the uses of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR. We will discuss the degree of change from the Stalinist era to today. There will be a brief slide show on USSR prisons, work camps, and psychiatric hospitals.

**Readings:**
Bukovsky and Gluzman, "Manual of Psychiatry for Dissidents".
"Open Letter from Mykola Rudenko to L. I. Brezhnev".
Malcolm Browne, "Prague Detains Five Dissidents After Human Rights Manifesto".
Theodore Jacqueney, "The Yellow Uniforms of Cuba".
"Hundred Percent", by Plastic People of the Universe, (Czech band), in *Matchbox*, p. 8.

**Week 8 2/28**
Film: "Obedience" by Dr. Stanley Milgram. What are the causes of human rights violations? On a pyschological level, how can or why will one individual torture another? What are the psychological effects of torture on the torturer and the tortured? Where do some people find the emotional strength to resist torture?

On a political level, why do governments consciously choose to violate human rights? Does the nature of the economic system in a country have any effect on the degree of violations of political rights? Contrasts between the US and the USSR will be made in terms of allegations of both violations of economic and political human rights. Other countries will be contrasted as well.

**Readings:**
Jean-Pierre Clavel, 'A Sense of Loss".
Beruz Tehrani, "The Victim".

Philip G. Zimbardo, et al, "The Mind is a Formidable Jailer: A Pirandellian Prison".
Frantz Fanon, "The Nightmares of an Interrogator".
Brian Crozier, "The Case for the Use of Torture: One Man's View".
Daniel Hirsch, "In Sanity and Out of Sainthood".

**Week 9 3/7**

Human rights in the Western industrialized nations, particularly the United States. Overview of problems of conscientious objection in Western Europe, training in "resistance to torture" in certain Western military services, and the allegations of domestic political imprisonment with fraudulent criminal charges and foreign involvements with human rights violations (allegations of torture by French forces in Algeria and U.S. forces in Vietnam). Discussion of the relative degree of political freedom and the specific kinds of difficulties faced by racial minorities, Marxists, pacifists, and certain religious sects such as Jehovah's Witnesses in particular Western industrialized societies. Spain and Portugal will be examined for the period prior to their recent changes in government, as will be Greece (drawing here on the report of the first torturers' trial recently completed in Greece). The Council of Europe and Amnesty International allegations by British forces in Northern Ireland will also be reviewed.

The McCarthy era in the United States will be examined as a variety of violations of human rights. Transcripts of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings will be reviewed, focusing particularly on the right to leave a country as it was handled with regards to Paul Robeson and Arthur Miller. A taped re-enactment of Robeson's testimony will be played. Possible guest speakers: Dr. Sheldon and Mrs. Mildred Plotkin. Topic: "The McCarthy Era: One Family's Experience." Dr. Plotkin was involved in several major civil liberties lawsuits over dismissal from jobs because of political associations in the forties.

**Readings:**

HUAC testimony of Daniel Boorstin, Pete Seeger, Willard Uphaus, Arthur Miller, Granville Hicks, and Paul Robeson.
"Documentary Evidence of the Violation of Human Rights in the USA" by Panorama DDR, German Democratic Republic.
Richard L. Strout, "Human Rights, Inhuman Ghettos".
Diane Leonetti, "Capital Punishment: The Ultimate Violence".
"Soundings on the Right", *Time Magazine*, (April 27, 1970).

**Week 10 3/14**

How human rights issues are approached in literature. A student panel will discuss such works as:
Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (NY: Bantam, 1970).
Film: Costa-Gavras' "State of Siege".
Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelagp, 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, trans. by Thomas Whitney (NY: Harper & Row, 1974).
Kim Chi Ha, *Cry of the People and Other Poems* (Brookline, MA: Autumn Press, 1974).
Franz Kafka, *The Trial* (NY: Schocken, 1968).
The *1984Brave New World* polarity will also be examined in the context of the power of massive negative vs. massive positive reinforcement as means of social control. Conclusion: The political uses and abuses of the human rights issue. The biases in such concerns – the ease with which some parties can condemn violations of human rights by one type of government and justify similar violations by another. Must one set of rights (economic or political) necessitate the violation of the other set? Or is J. P. Narayan correct when he argues that "bread and liberty" are not mutually exclusive? Are systems theoretically possible in which both economic and political rights are observed in great degree within the same society? What actions seem the most effective in promoting basic human rights?

**Readings:**

George Byron, *Prisoner of Chillon & Other Poems* (Elmsford, NY: British Book Center, 1974).

Kim Chi Ha, "No Return".

Kim Chi Ha, "A Final Statement to the Court".

# Human Rights and Foreign Policy

**Henry Shue** Fall 1978
Dept. of Government / University of Maryland / Baltimore, MD 21201

**Seminar #1 8/29**
Introduction: Choices Facing U.S. Decision-Makers in 1978

**Seminar #2 9/5**
**How Do You Deal With A Government, for example, Iran Under the Shah?**

**Essential reading:**

Richard W. Cottam, "Human Rights and Arms Sales: The Case of Iran", Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, Working Paper HRFP-2.

**Supplementary reading:**

Reza Baraheni, *The Crowned Cannibals: Writings on Repression in Iran* (NY: Random House, 1977).

Committee on International Relations, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, "Human Rights in Iran" (1976). (Compare Atherton and Baraheni.)

Alvin J. Cottrell and James E. Dougherty, *Iran's Quest for Security* (Cambridge: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1977), esp. pp. 51-56.

International Commission of Jurists, *Human Rights and the Legal System in Iran* (1976).

**Seminar #3 9/12**
How Do You Respect A Human Right, for example, Not To Be Tortured?

**Essential reading:**

Amnesty International, Report on Torture (NY: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1975), 7-45, 63-71, 114-116, and countries of your choice from 117-242.

Patrick J. Buchanan, "The Right Time for Torture", *Skeptic* No. 17 (Jan/Feb 1977), 16-19, 57-58.

Henry Shue, "Torture", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter 1978).

**Supplementary reading:**

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (NY: Basic, 1977).

**Seminar #4 9/19**
The Concept of A Human Right

**Essential reading:**

Joel Feinberg, *Social Philosophy* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 55-97.

**Supplementary reading:**

Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977).

Joel Feinberg, "The Nature and Value of Rights", in *Moral Problems in Medicine*, ed. by Samuel Gorovitz et al. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 454-460.

H. L. A. Hart, "Are There Any Natural Rights?", in *Human Rights*, ed. by A. I. Melden (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1977), 61-75; also in *Political Philosophy*, ed. by Anthony Quinton, pp. 53-66.

A. I. Melden, *Rights and Persons* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1978).

Gregory Vlastos, "Justice and Equality", in *Social Justice*, ed. by Richard B. Brandt, pp. 31-72; excerpts in Melden, *Human Rights* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1970).

Richard Wasserstrom, "Rights, Human Rights, and Racial Discrimination", in Melden, *Human Rights*, pp. 96-110.

**Seminar #5 9/26**
Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights

**Essential reading:**

Henry Shue, "Foundations for a Balanced U.S. Policy on Human Rights: The Significance of Subsistence Rights", Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, Working Paper HRFP-1.

Maurice Cranston, *What Are Human Rights* (NY: Taplinger, 1973).

**Supplementary reading:**

Charles R. Beitz, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy: The Problem of Priorities", Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, Working Paper HRFP-3.

Charles R. Beitz, "Justice and International Relations", Philosophy & Public Policy, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1975), 360-389.

James W. Nickel, "Are Economic and Social Rights Real Human Rights?"

Henry Shue, "Food, Population and Wealth: Toward Global Principles of Justice".

**Seminar #6 10/3**
The Concept of National Security

**Essential reading:**

Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), Part I, The Grand Alliance, pp. 3-73; Part III, The Great Divide, pp. 163-220.

**Supplementary reading:**

Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, the remainder.

Richard J. Barnet, *Roots of War* (NY: Penguin, 1973), 3-22, 48-75, 95-123.

Mr. X, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947).

Klaus Knorr, ed., *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems* (Lawrence, KS: Regents Press, 1976).

Joyce Kolko and Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power—The World and United States Foreign Policy*, 1945-54 (NY: Harper & Row, 1972).

Bernard Brodie, *War and Politics* (NY: MacMillan, 1973), 341-364.

Eugene V. Rostow, *Law, Power, and the Pursuit of Peace* (Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1968).

Maxwell D. Taylor, *Responsibility and Response*.

William W. Whitson, *Foreign Policy and U.S. National Security* (NY: Praeger, 1976).

Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962).

**Seminar #7 10/10**
Human Rights During Armed Conflict

**Essential reading:**

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (NY: Basic, 1977), Chs. 1, 3, 8, 9, 13, 16.

*Geneva Protocols of 1977.*

**Supplementary reading:**

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Law of Armed Conflicts* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 1971), essay by Denise Bindschedler-Robert.

Dept. of the Air Force, *International Law—The Conduct of Armed Conflict and Air Operations.*

Myres S. McDougal and Florentino P. Feliciano, *Law and Minimum World Public Order* New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 1961)

Henry Shue, "Belligerent Reprisals Against the Civilian Population".

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *The Law of War and Dubious Weapons* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1976).

**Seminar #8 10/17**
Ethical Relativism and Cultural Imperialism

**Essential reading:**

John Ladd, ed., *Ethical Relativism*.

Carl Wellman, "The Ethical Implications of Cultural Relativity".

**Supplementary reading:**

Gilbert Harman, *The Nature of Morality* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977).

**Seminar #9 10/24**

Intervention and International Law

**Essential reading:**

Mark R. Wicclair, "Human Rights and Intervention".

Thomas Buergenthal, "The Human Rights Obligations of OAS Member States".

**Supplementary reading:**

Louis Sohn and Thomas Buergenthal, eds., *Basic Documents on International Protection of Human Rights* (Charlotteville, VA: Michie, 1973), look through: *Charter of the United Nations*, esp. Preamble and Articles 1, 55 and 56. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.*

**Seminar #10 10/31**

Cynicism, Moralism, and Realism: Killing People for Political Reasons

**Essential Reading:**

Albert Camus, *The Rebel* (NY: Knopf, 1954), 3-22, 104-111, 164-173, 246-252, 279-297.

Douglas MacLean, "Goals and Constraints: The Problem of Moralism", Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, Working Paper HRFP-5.

**Supplementary reading:**

Michael Walzer, "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands", *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 1973), 160-180.

Ted Honderich, *Three Essays on Political Violence*, Essays 1 and 3.

**Seminar #11 11/7**

Case study (1): Indonesia

**Essential reading:**

Amnesty International, *Indonesia* (London: Amnesty Int'l Publications, 1977), selections.

Benedict O. Anderson, Prepared Statement in *Hearings on Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal year 1979 Before the Subcomm. on Int'l Organizations of the House Comm. on Int'l Relations*, 95th Congress, 2nd Session, Part 4, pp. 27-46.

Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, *Indonesia—1965: The Coup That Backfired* (1968).

*The Guidelines of State Policy of the Republic of Indonesia 1978* (Jakarta: Republic of Indonesia, Dept. of Information).

Syamaprasad Gupta, *A Model for Income Distribution, Employment, and Growth: A Case Study of Indonesia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press for the World Bank, 1977), pp. xv-xvii and 3-14.

Dwight Y. King and Peter D. Weldon, "Income Distribution and Levels of Living in Java, 1963-1970", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol. 25, No. 4, (July 1977), 699-711.

James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1976), 219-225.

Jusuf Wanandi, "President Carter's Foreign Policy and the Role of the American Congress", *Indonesian Quarterly* Vol. VI, No. 2 (April 1978) 48-79. Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Lt. Gen. Ali Moertopo, "Political and Economic Development in Indonesia in the Context of Regionalism in Southeast Asia", *Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 2, (April 1978), 30-47, esp. 32-38. Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Raphael Pura, "Family Planning Work has Surprising Success in Indonesian Villages", *Asian Wall Street Journal* (July 15, 1978), pp. 1, 7.

"Suharto Plans Wider Sharing in the Economy", *Asian Wall Street Journal* (August 17, 1978), pp. 1, 10.

Rodney Tasker, "Exceeding All Expectancies", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. 101, No. 34 (August 25, 1978), 23-25.

**Supplementary reading:**

Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965 Coup in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1971).

Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey, "What Happened in Indonesia", *New York Review*, Vol. 25, No. 9 (June 1, 1978), 40-42.

Center for International Policy, *Human Rights and the U.S. Foreign Assistance Program, Fiscal Year 1978*, Part 2, East Asia (Washington, DC), 11-23.

**Seminar #12 11/14**

Paper Due – No new reading.

**Seminar #13 11/21**

Case study (2): Kampuchea (Cambodia)

**Essential reading:**

George C. Hildebrand and Gareth Porter, *Cambodia: Starvation & Revolution* (NY: Monthly Review, 1976), selections.

Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodia – Year Zero* (NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978), selections.

Far Eastern Economic Review, *Asia Yearbook 1978* (Hong Kong), 154-158.

**Supplementary reading:**

John Barron and Anthony Paul, *Murder of a Gentle Land* (Pleasantville, NY: Readers Digest Press, 1977).

Timothy M. Carney, *Communist Party Power in Kampuchea* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1977).

William Shawcross, "The Third Indochina War", *New York Review*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (April 6, 1978), 15-22.

**Seminar #14 11/28**

Case study (3): The Philippines

**Essential reading:**

Richard Claude, "Human Rights in the Philippines and United States Responsibility", Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, Working Paper HRFP-6.

Renato Constantino and Letizia Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past* (Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1978), 226-344.

O. D. Corpuz, "Liberty and Government in the New Society", (Manila: Univ. of the Philippines).

**Supplementary reading:**

Newton Allen, "Where Do You Go When the Ship Sails Home? (Prostitution in Olongapo)", *ICHTHYS*, Vol. I, No. 29 (July 7, 1978), 5-9. Manila: Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines.

George McT. Kahin, "The Need to End Our Risky Military Ties to Manila", *Washington Post*, Outlook (August 27, 1978), D1, D5.

Benedict J. Kerkvliet, "Land Reform in the Philippines Since the Marcos Coup", *Pacific Affairs*, 47 (Fall, 1974), 286-304.

Joel Rocamora, "Preparing for Revolution: The United Front in the Philippines", *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, No. 62 (May-June, 1978), 1-24. Berkeley: Southeast Asia Resource Center.

Mil Roekaerts, "The Philippines: Five Years of Martial Law", ICTHYS, Special Issue No. 8 (July 14, 1978), 1-38. Manila: Ass'n of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines.

**Seminar #15 12/5**

Case study (4) South Africa and Uganda

**Essential reading:**

Amnesty International, *Political Imprisonment in South Africa* (London: 1978), selections.

International Commission of Jurists, *Uganda & Human Rights* (Geneva: 1977), selections.

Richard H. Ullman, "Human Rights and Economic Power: The United States Versus Idi Amin", *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 56, No. 3 (April 1978), 529-543.

# New Perspectives on World Order

**David A. Robinson** Fall, 1980
Adult Basic Education and Community College of Vermont: Center for World Education / University of Vermont / Burlington, VT 05401

## AN INVITATION

The Center for World Education at the University of Vermont in Burlington is joining with Adult Basic Education and the Community College of Vt. in offering an experimental seminar in non-traditional Peace/Justice studies this fall. This is a pilot course. No exams, no credits (unless asked for), no special legitimation other than your personal interest in and experience with personal and societal change. It is our hope to discover in our own experience—enriched by insights from other times in history, other cultures, other socio-cultural systems in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—the practical bases for peace and justice. It is our hypothesis that *only* as world order is experienced and tested and planned for and acted upon in our *own* lives and social structures can the revolutionary changes take place to move towards the globally preferred futures of justice and transformed humanity. Yet, we also wish to explore the links between the Micro/Macro transformations, the degree to which every global issue is local and to which every local problem has intimate connections with international structures of oppression and/or liberation.

## GOALS AND DREAMS

1. To explore together the sources of "oppression" which sustain war and injustice in the United States and especially in the rising 3rd-5th Worlds.
2. To develop our own theoretical/action models of societal change with which to understand and act upon our Micro-Macro problems of injustice and inequality.
3. To use case studies of cultural-societal transformation in both our society and other parts of the world in which significant lessons may be learned.
4. To begin implementation of our knowledge in strategic praxis both locally and within networks of influence where each of us work.
5. To develop some curricula from our course which may be shared with others.

## OVERVIEW OF THE COURSE

### I. China

A. Analysis of Mao's theory and experience of "Cultural revolution."

B. Readings:
Hinton, *Fanshen* (NY: Monthly Review, 1966).
Mao Tse-tung, from *Selected Works.*
Articles from *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars.*

### II. India

A. Case studies from Gandhi's satyagraha campaigns based on the work of Joan Bondurant, Gene Sharp, and others in non-violent studies.

B. Readings:
Gandhi, from *Collected Works.*
Erikson, selections from *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (NY: Norton, 1969).

Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Berkeley: UCLA Press, 1965).
Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1979)

**III. Guinea-Bissau**

A. A case study in societal transformation and educational liberation in a new African nation.
B. Readings:
Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle* (London: Stage I Publications, 1969).
Cabral, *The Role of Culture in the Battle for Independence* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972).
Urdang, *Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau* (NY: *Monthly Review*, 1979).
Rudebeck, *Guinea-Bissau: A Study of Political Mobilization* (Upsalla, 1974).
Freire, *Pedagogy in Process—The Letters to Guinea-Bissau* (NY: Seabury Press, 1978).
Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (NY: Orion, 1965).

**IV. Latin America**

A. A detailed examination of the work of Paulo Freire and others in Latin American liberation case studies.
B. Readings
de Jesus, Carolina, *Child of the Dark* (NY: Dutton, 1962).
Nute, *Helder Camara's Latin America*, AFSC
Collins, Denis E., *Paulo Freire: His Life, Work and Thoughts* (1977).
Grabowski, *Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator* (Syracuse: ERIC Clearinghouse, 1972).
Colonnese, *Conscientization for Liberation* (1971).
Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (NY: Herder and Herder, 1970).
Freire, Paulo, *Cultural Action for Freedom* (Cambridge: Harvard Ed. Review, Center for the Study of Development and Social Change, 1970).
Freire, Paulo, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (NY: Seabury, 1973).
Freire, Paulo, "The Political Literacy Process."
Freire, Paulo, "Notes on Humanization and Its Educational Implications", *UNESCO Courier*, June 1980—Issue on Literacy, esp. Nicaragua & San Tome.

**V. North America**

A. Case studies from civil rights, peace action, and other social movements.
B. Readings:
King, Broad selection of writings on his life, work, and theories.
Coover, et al. *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution* (Philadelphia: MNS Press 1978).
See the above for extended bibliographies on Women's movements, social change, and other dimensions of transformation.

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# Ecological Balance

Global Environmental Politics
Marvin S. Soroos

International Politics and the Physical Environment
David J. Rosen

Energy and Environment in Global Ecopolitics
Dennis Pirages

Scarcity and Society: Ecosystem Strains and Social Change
Kurt Finsterbusch

Appropriate Technology and the Politics of Decentralization
Dennis Livingston

# Global Environmental Politics

**Marvin S. Soroos** Spring 1980
Political Science 236 / North Carolina State University / Raleigh, NC 27650

The course explores the political aspects of the ecological problems that confront mankind. Particular emphasis is placed upon the international politics of population, food, energy and nonfuel resources, and pollution. Conflict over the use of ocean resources will be examined along with recent efforts to establish a new international law of the seas. In the absence of an undergraduate course offering on American environmental policy, brief consideration is given to domestic policies on pollution, resources, and energy.

## BOOKS TO PURCHASE

Rufus Miles, *Awakening from the American Dream: The Social and Political Limits to Growth* (NY: Universe Books, 1976).

Dennis Pirages, *Global Ecopolitics: The New Context for International Relations* (N. Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1978).

Walter Rosenbaum, *The Politics of Environmental Concern* (NY: Praeger, 1977, 2nd edition).

## PAPERS

Each student will write two papers: 1) an essay on Garrett Hardin's article "The Tragedy of the Commons" (3-5 pages), and 2) an analysis of an international environmental problem (7-10 pages).

## EXAMINATIONS

There will be a midterm and a final examination, the format and content of which will be announced later.

## GRADES

The course grades will be based on the two examinations (about 45%), the two papers (about 40%), and the quality of participation in class discussions and simulations (about 15%).

## COURSE OUTLINE AND SCHEDULE

### I. THE ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The concept "ecology" refers to the study of the relationship between an organism and its environment; or in the context of this course, the relationship between man and his natural environment. The taking of an ecological perspective can lead to very basic changes in one's outlook on human affairs.

**Jan. 10 Course Introduction**

Required:

Pirages, pp. 4-23.

Optional:

Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (NY: Knopf, 1972).
Ward and Dubos, *Only One Earth* (NY: Norton, 1972).
Brown, *The Twenty-Ninth Day* (NY: Norton, 1978).
Ehrlich et al, *Ecoscience* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1977).
Cahn, *Footprints on the Planet* (NY: Universe, 1978).

## II. THE LIMITS TO GROWTH DEBATE

Why has there been so much discussion about planetary environmental problems that threaten our way of life if not our very survival? The controversial first report to the Club of Rome by Meadows et al, *The Limits to Growth*, perhaps more than any other book has drawn attention to man's ecological predicament.

In this section the Meadows book will serve as a starting point or discussing the physical limits of the planet in view of the increased strains placed upon them by population and economic growth.

**Jan. 15 Pessimistic Scenarios**

Required:

Miles, Chs. 1, 2, 3.

Donella Meadows et al, *The Limits to Growth* (NY: Signet, 1972), 17-44, 88-128, 185-197.

Mesarovic and Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point* (NY: New American Library, 1976), 1-17, 143-157.

Optional:

Goldsmith, *Blueprint for Survival* (NY: New American Library, 1972).

**Jan. 17 More Optimistic Scenarios**

Required:

Kahn et al, *The Next 200 Years* (NY: Morrow, 1976), 1-25.

Optional:

Maddox, *The Doomsday Syndrome* (NY: McGraw, 1972).

Cole et al, *The Models of Doom: A Critique of the Limits To Growth* (NY: Universe, 1973).

Tinbergen, *Reshaping the International Order* (NY: Dutton, 1976).

Leontief, *The Future of the World Economy* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977).

Beckerman, *In Defense of Economic Growth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1974).

## III. SOME BASICS OF ECOLOGICAL POLITICS

Environmental problems can have profound implications for politics; likewise political processes will inevitably be a critical factor in the worsening or ameliorating of the ecological predicament that man faces. What groups are most involved in environmental politics? In what political arenas can the principal action be found? Consideration will also be given to some overriding political problems and issues that have become particularly salient in environmental affairs. Of particular interest is Hardin's classic essay "The Tragedy of the Commons" which sets forth some of the primary approaches to environmental management.

**Jan. 22 Actors and Arenas of Ecological Politics**

Required:

Pirages, pp. 23-40.

Handleman, *Introductory Case Studies for International Relations*, Ch. 4.

Optional:

Caldwell, *In Defense of Earth* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 1972), Ch. 5.

Sprout and Sprout, *Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth* (NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971).

Sierra Club, *World Dictionary of Environmental Organizations* (Claremont, CA: Sequoia Inst. for the Int'l Program of the Sierra Club, 1973).

Orr and Soroos, *The Global Predicament: Ecological Perspectives on World Order* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1979).

**Jan. 24 The Tragedy of the Commons**

Required:

Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons", *Science* (Dec. 18, 1968), 1243-1248; or in *Daly*, pp. 133-147.

Optional:

- Hardin and Baden, eds., *Managing the Commons* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1977).
- Hardin, *Exploring New Ethics for Survival* (NY: Viking, 1972).

**Jan. 29 The Politics of Scarcity and Interdependence**

Required:

- Pirages, Chs. 2, 7; pp. 184-189.
- Miles, Chs. 4, 11, 12.

Optional:

- Falk, *This Endangered Planet* (NY: Random House, 1971).
- Heilbroner, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect* (NY: Norton, 1974).
- Ophuls, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1977).
- Herman E. Daly, ed., *Toward a Steady State Economy* (SF: W. H. Freeman, 1973).
- Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973).
- Pirages, ed., *The Sustainable Society* (NY: Praeger, 1977).
- Orr and Hill, "Leviathan, the Open Society, and the Crisis of Ecology", in Orr and Soroos, eds., *The Global Predicament* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1979).

**Jan. 31 Perceptions of Environmental Problems**

Marvin S. Soroos, "Trends in the Perception of Environmental Problems in the United Nations General Debates", (mimeographed).

## IV. THE POLITICS OF POPULATION AND FOOD

Is the world becoming "overpopulated?" Is "overpopulation" the root of other ecological problems? Is hunger and starvation a manifestation of overpopulation? Most Americans would say "yes" to all three questions. These viewpoints have, however, been challenged for failing to distinguish "overpopulation" from poverty and inequality. Equally controversial has been the subject of alternative international population and food policies that could be adopted by the United States, especially Garrett Hardin's proposed "lifeboat ethics".

**Feb. 5 The Malthusian Predicament: How Immediate Is It?**

Required:

- Pirages, Ch. 3.
- Miles, Ch. 9.
- Lappe and Collins, *Food First* (NY: Ballantine, 1979), 1-34.

Optional:

- Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (NY: Ballantine, 1976).
- Spengler, *Population and America's Future* (SF: W. H. Freeman, 1975).
- Borgstrom, *The Hungry Planet* (NY: MacMillan, 1972).
- George, *How the Other Half Dies* (Montclair NJ: Allanheld, 1977).
- Bryson and Murray, *Climates of Hunger* (Madison WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1977).
- Eckholm, *Losing Ground* (NY: Norton, 1976).

**Feb. 7 National and International Population Policies**

Required:

- Brown, *The Twenty-Ninth Day* (NY: Norton, 1979), Ch. 4.

Optional:

- Clinton, ed., *Population and Politics* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973).
- *Scientific American*, entire September 1974 issue on "The Human Population".
- *Policy Studies Journal*, Winter 1977 issue entitled "Symposium on Population".

**Feb. 12 Simulation Game: "Baldicer"**

**Feb. 14 The "Lifeboat" Debate**

Required:

Hardin, "Living on a Lifeboat".

Miles, Ch. 5.

Soroos, "The Commons and Lifeboat as Guides for International Ecological Policy".

Optional:

Paddock and Paddock, *Time of Famines* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976).

Hardin, *The Limits to Altruism* (Bloomington IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977).

**Feb. 19 Policies for Feeding the World's Population**

Required:

Miles, Ch. 10.

Lappe and Collins, *Food First* (NY: Ballantine, 1979), 373-412.

Optional:

*International Organization*, entire Summer 1978 issue on "The Global Political Economy of Food".

Dahlberg, *Beyond the Green Revolution* (NY: Plenum Publ., 1979).

**Feb. 21 Midterm Examination**

## V. RESOURCES AND ENERGY

Energy and mineral resources are key elements in industrial development. The Western world modernized when resources were plentiful and inexpensive, an opportunity that will no longer be available to LDC's. Scarcity may increase the intensity of political conflict and have destabilizing economic and political implications. International resource and energy policies have been much debated in recent years, particularly the role that nuclear power will play in providing for world energy needs.

**Feb. 26 Energy and Mineral Resources: How Long Will They Last?**

Required:

Pirages, Ch. 5.

Optional:

*Science*, entire February 20, 1975 issue on "Materials".

Tilton, *The Future of Nonfuel Minerals* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1977).

**Feb. 28 Cartels and the Politics of Resources**

Optional:

Connelly and Perlman, *The Politics of Scarcity* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975).

International Economic Studies Institute, *Raw Materials and Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1976).

Garvey and Garvey, eds., *International Resource Flows* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1977).

Mikadashi, *The International Politics of Natural Resources* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1976).

Robert L. Rothstein, *Global Bargaining* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979).

**Mar. 11 NO CLASS**

**Mar. 13 The International Politics of Oil**

Required:

Pirages, Ch. 4.

Optional:

Willrich, *Energy and World Politics* (NY: Free Press, 1975).

Engler, *The Brotherhood of Oil* (NY: New American Library, 1978).

Choucri, *International Politics of Energy Interdependence* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1976).
Vernon, ed., *The Energy Crisis* (1976).
Doran, *Myth, Oil, and Politics* (NY: Free Press, 1977).
Peter R. Odell, *Oil and World Power* 5th ed. (NY: Penguin, 1979).

**Mar. 18 Nuclear Power and the Prospects for Proliferation**
Required:
Pirages, pp. 202-214.
Optional:
Wonder, *Nuclear Fuel and American Foreign Policy* (1977).
Falk, *Nuclear Policy and World Order: Why Denuclearization* (NY: Institute for World Order, WOMP Paper #2, 1978).

## VI. MANAGEMENT OF OCEAN RESOURCES

The oceans cover approximately 70% of the surface of the earth. Important issues are as yet unresolved in regard to fishing, whaling, the exploitation of seabed petroleum and mineral resources, the width of territorial waters, pollution, shipping routes. The politics taking place at the Third Law of the Seas Conference will be analyzed. The issues faced in developing ocean laws have parallels to regulation of other nonnational spaces including Antarctica, and Outerspace.

**Mar. 20 The Law of the Sea Conference and Seabed Resources**
Required:
Pirages, pp. 200-202.
Foreign Policy Association, "World Law of the Oceans: Narrowing Options for the U.S.".
Optional:
Miles and Gamble, eds., *Law of the Sea: Conference Outcomes and Problems of Implementation* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).
Buzan, *Seabed Politics* (NY: Praeger, 1976).
Walsh, *The Law of the Sea: Issues in Ocean Resource Management* (NY: Praeger, 1977).
*International Organization*, entire Spring 1977 issue on "Restructuring Ocean Regimes".

**Mar. 25 Species Preservation: Fish, Whales, and Land Based Species**
Eckholm, "Wild Species vs. Man: The Losing Struggle for Survival".

**Mar. 27 Controlling Pollution in the Marine Environment**
Required:
Mostert, *Supership* (NY: Warner Books, 1976), Ch. 3.
Optional:
Barros and Johnson, *The International Law of Pollution* (NY: Free Press, 1974).
Teclaff and Utton, eds., *International Environmental Law* (NY: Praeger, 1974).

## VII. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

In the absence of a course focusing primarily on domestic environmental politics, a brief review is offered in an effort to come to grips with pollution and other related ecological problems in the United States. The National Environment Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 was a major turning point in national environmental policy. To what impact has this act and others of the early 1970's had for preserving the quality of the American environment? Consideration will also be given to energy policy and the management of other types of natural resources.

**Apr. 1 Air and Water Pollution**

Required:

Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People* (NY: Penguin, 1977). Rosenbaum, Chs. 1-5.
Wenner, *One Environment Under Law* (Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear, 1976).

**Apr. 3 Energy Policy**

Film: "No Act of God".

Required:

Miles, Chs. 6-8.

Optional:

Hayes, *Rays of Hope* (NY: Norton, 1977).
Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).
Davis, *Energy Politics* (NY: St. Martin's, 1974).
Freeman, *Energy: The New Era* (NY: Random, 1974).
Kalter and Vogely, eds., *Energy Supply and Government Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1976).
Commoner, *The Poverty of Power* (NY: Knopf, 1976).

**Apr. 8 Forest and Mineral Resource Policies**

Rosenbaum, Chs. 6-8.

**Apr. 10 Comparisons with Other Industrial Countries**

Optional:

Enloe, *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective* (NY: Longman, 1975).
Kelly, et al, *The Economic Superpowers and the Environment: The United States, the Soviet Union and Japan* (SF: 1976).

## VIII. SIMULATION EXERCISE

The class will take part in a World Conference on the Human Environment, an ad hoc simulation exercise developed for the course. It is designed to be a representation of the recent international conferences on environmental problems that are discussed during the semester. It will offer the class an opportunity to put forth some integrated proposals for coming to grips with planetary ecological problems.

**Apr. 15, 17, 22 World Conference on the Human Environment**

## IX. THE FUTURE

In the final session an effort will be made to pull together some of the trends that were discussed in the course through an examination of the directions that mankind may take in the next 25 to 50 years.

**Apr. 24 Scenarios of Ecological Futures**

Required:

Pirages, Ch. 8.
Miles, Chs. 13, 14.
Soroos, "Ecology and the Time Dimension in Human Relationships". (mimeographed).

Optional:

Laszlo, *Goals for Mankind* (NY: New American Library, 1977).
Mische and Mische, *Toward a Human World Order* (NY: Paulist Press, 1978).
North, *The World That Could Be* (NY: Norton, 1978).

# International Politics and the Physical Environment

**David J. Rosen** Fall 1978
Cook College / Rutgers University / New Brunswick, NJ 08903

This course will focus on the interactions between man (and woman) and the physical environment in the context of international politics. Human activities which impact on the environment will be examined, as well as the consequent environmental disruptions which influence, encourage, and constrain subsequent political responses. Issues of resource dependency, distribution and scarcity will also be examined.

Political responses to environmental conditions will be analyzed comparatively and at the international/global level. The influences of ideology, culture, and development on political response mechanisms will be studied as well as the adequacy and effectiveness of international political institutions.

The course will employ an ecological perspective and, accordingly, the readings have been drawn from the physical and biological sciences, economics, philosophy and other fields in addition to political science.

The following books will be used extensively:

Herman E. Daly, ed., *Toward A Steady-State Economy* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973).
Donella H. Meadows, et al, *The Limits to Growth* (NY: Signet, 1972).
Mason Willrich, *Energy and World Politics* (NY: Free Press, 1975).

The requirement for the course shall be the writing of at least four seminar papers during the semester. Each paper, in approximately 5-10 typewritten pages (or their legibly handwritten equivalent), will critically analyze at least three of the selections assigned for that week's class. The papers will be due on the day of class discussion. Students' final grades will be based on their four best seminar papers, and they may submit more than four.

## COURSE OUTLINE

### Sep. 11 INTRODUCTION

### Sep. 18 BASIC CONCEPTS AND UNDERLYING ISSUES

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons", *Science* (Dec. 18, 1968), 1243-1248 or in *Daly* pp. 133-147.
Beryl Crowe, "The Tragedy of the Commons Revisited", in Leslie Roos, ed., *The Politics of Eco-Suicide*, pp. 29-40.
Marvin Soroos, "The Commons and Lifeboat as Guides for International Ecological Policy", *International Studies Quarterly* (Dec. 1977), 647-674.
William Ophuls, "Leviathan or Oblivion", in *Daly*, pp. 215-229.
Lynn White, "The Historical Roots of our Ecologic Crisis", *Science* (Mar. 10, 1967), 1203-1207.
Genesis 1:26, *The Old Testament*.
Optional:
Pirages and Ehrlich, Ark II: *Social Response to Environmental Imperative* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1974).

Lester Brown, *The Twenty-Ninth Day* (NY: Norton, 1978).
Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (NY: Bantam, 1972).
Garrett Hardin, *New Ethics for Survival* (NY: Viking, 1972).
Robert Heilbroner, *An Inquiry Into The Human Prospect* (NY: Norton, 1974).

### Sep. 25 GROWTH, SCARCITY AND POLITICS I

Donella Meadows, et al, *The Limits to Growth* (NY: Signet, 1972), entire book.
Wilfred Beckerman, *Two Cheers For The Affluent Society* (NY: St. Martin's, 1976), 1-92.
Margaret Didi Weinblatt, "A Critique of Forrester and Related Global Modeling Techniques", or Weinblatt, "System Dynamics: Caveat Haruspex".
Herman Daly, "Introduction", in *Daly*, pp. 1-27.

Optional:
Mesarovic and Pestel, *Mankind At The Turning Point* (NY: New American Library, 1976).
Arthur Boughey, *Strategy For Survival* (Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cummings, 1976).

### Oct. 2 GROWTH, SCARCITY AND POLITICS II

Johan Galtung, "Limits to Growth and Class Politics", *Journal of Peace Research*, 10 (1973).
E. F. Schumacher, "Buddhist Economics", in *Daly*, 231-239.
Robert North, "Toward a Framework For the Analysis of Scarcity and Conflict", *International Studies Quarterly* (Dec. 1977), 569-592.
Willem Oltmans, ed., *On Growth*, pp. 1-6 (U Thant); 26-34 (Toynbee); 65-71 (Kaysen); 119-125 (Nordhaus); 192-197 (Strong); 216-231 (Forrester); 284-291 (Chomsky); 291-299 (Clark); 313-326 (Kahn); 334-338 (Marcuse); 365-390 (Rawls); 448-456 (Falk).

### Oct. 9 POPULATION, FOOD AND POLITICS

Philip Hauser, "Population Criteria in Foreign Aid Programs".
Erik Eckholm and Lester Brown, "Spreading Deserts—The Hand of Man", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Jan. 1978).
Paul Ehrlich and John Holden, "Impact of Population Growth" in *Daly*, pp. 76-87.
Theodore Schultz, "The Hungry, Crowded, Competitive World", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Oct. 1977), 26-31.
Leon Kass, "The New Biology: What Price Relieving Man's Estate?", *Science* (Nov. 19, 1971), 779-788 or in *Daly*.
Lyle Schertz, "World Food: Prices and the Poor", *Foreign Affairs* (Apr. 1974), 511-537.
Stephen S. Rosenfield, "The Politics of Food", *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1974), 17-29.
Charles Billo and Lester Brown, "An Exchange on Food", *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1974), 30-34.

Optional:
Lester Brown, *By Bread Alone* (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon, 1976).
Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (NY: Ballantine, 1976).
Bryson and Murray, *Climates of Hunger* (Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1979).

### Oct. 16 POLLUTION AND POLITICS: A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION

Donald Kelley, et al, *The Economic Superpowers and the Environment* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976), 41-265.
Cynthia Enloe, *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective* (NY: Longman, 1975), 11-75, 145-263.
Institute of Geography, USSR Academy of Science, *Man, Society and the Environment*, 17-28, 31-54.
Chiang Hsiao-ke, "Environmental Protection Work in China", in Boxer and Pramer, eds., *Environmental Protection in the Peoples Republic of China*.

Optional:

Hugh Stretton, *Capitalism, Socialism and the Environment* (NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976).

**Oct. 23 ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

David Orr, "Modernization and Conflict: The Second Image Applications of Scarcity", *International Studies Quarterly* (Dec. 1977), 593-618.

Richard Clinton, "The Never-To-Be-Developed Countries of Latin America", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Oct. 1977), 19-25.

Edward Woodhouse, "Re-visioning the Future of the Third World: An Ecological Perspective on Development", *World Politics* (Oct. 1972), 1-33.

Ward Morehouse, "Technology in North-South Relations: The Case For Selective De-Linking".

Cynthia Enloe, *The Politics of Pollution in Comparative Perspective* (NY: Longman, 1975), 111-145.

UNEP, "Environment and Development", UNEP/GC/76.

**Oct. 30 INTRODUCTION TO ENERGY AND POLITICS**

Mason Willrich, *Energy and World Politics*, entire book.

Amory Lovins, "The Road Not Taken", *Foreign Affairs* (Oct. 1976).

L. Schipper and A. J. Lichtenberg, "Efficient Energy Use and Well-Being: The Swedish Example", *Science* (Dec. 3, 1976), 1001-1013.

Nicholas Georgescu-Rogen, "The Entropy Law and the Economic Problem", in *Daly*, pp. 37-49.

Vaclav Smil, "Intermediate Energy Technology in China", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Feb. 1977), 25-31.

Environmentalists For Full Employment, "Jobs and Energy", pamphlet.

Optional:

Wilson Clark, *Energy For Survival* (NY: Doubleday, 1975).

Barry Commoner, *The Poverty of Power* (NY: Bantam, 1976).

F. M. Fowler, *Energy and the Environment* (NY: McGraw, 1975).

Amory Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).

**Nov. 6 OIL, OPEC AND WORLD POLITICS**

Davis Bobrow, et al, "Contrived Scarcity: The Short-Term Consequences of Expensive Oil", *International Studies Quarterly* (Dec., 1977), 619-645.

Eric Davis, "The Political Economy of Arab Oil Producing Nations: Development or Dependency".

Zuhayr Mikdashi, "Cooperation Among Oil Exporting Countries", *International Organization* (Winter 1974), 1-30.

Thomas Enders, "OPEC and the Industrial Countries: The Next Ten Years", *Foreign Affairs* (July 1975), 625-637.

Normal Gall, "The Challenge of Venezuelan Oil", *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1975), 44-67.

Optional:

Leonard Mosley, *Power Play: Oil in the Middle East* (NY: Penguin, 1974).

**Nov. 13 NUCLEAR ENERGY: POWER, PROLIFERATION AND POLITICS**

Robert Gallucci, "Fission in Atlantic Politics: Non-Proliferation, Nuclear Energy and the Europeans".

Joseph Nye, "Time To Plan For The Next Generation of Nuclear Technology", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Oct. 1977), 38-41.

Lincoln Bloomfield, "Nuclear Spread and World Order", *Foreign Affairs* (July 1975).

Alvin Weinberg, "Is Nuclear Power Acceptable?", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Apr. 1977), 54-60.

Richard Wilson, "How To Have Nuclear Power Without Weapons", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Nov. 1977), 39-41.

William Sweet, "The Opposition to Nuclear Power in Europe", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Dec. 1977), 40-47.

Klaus Gottstein, "Nuclear Energy For The Third World", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (June 1977), 44-48.

J. Leite Lopes, "Atoms in the Developing Nations", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Apr. 1978), 31-34.

Optional:

John McPhee, *The Curve of Binding Energy* (NY: Ballantine, 1976).

Nuclear Energy Policy Study Group, *Nuclear Power: Issues and Choices* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1977).

**Nov. 20 MINERAL RESOURCES AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Toward a Politics of Planet Earth* (NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971), 268-297.

Preston Cloud, "Mineral Resources in Fact and Fancy", in *Daly*, pp. 50-74.

Saburo Okita, "Natural Resource Dependency and Japanese Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs* (Apr. 1974), 714-725.

Robert Perlman, "Is The World Running Out of Natural Resources", *International Affairs* (July 1974), 416-424.

Zuhayr Mikdashi, et al, "One, Two, Many OPEC's ...?", *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1974), 57-90.

*Science* (Feb. 20, 1976), entire issue.

Yuan-li Wu, *Raw Material Supply In A Multipolar World.*

**Nov. 27 OCEANS, RESOURCES AND THE LAW OF THE SEA**

Jack Barkenbus, "The Politics of Ocean Resource Exploitation", *International Studies Quarterly* (Dec. 1977), 675-699.

Richard Hudson, "The International Struggle For A Law of The Sea", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Dec. 1977), 14-20.

Swing, "Who Will Own the Oceans", *Foreign Affairs* (Apr. 1976), 527-546.

*International Organization* (Spring 1977), entire issue.

Optional:

John Lawrence Hargrove, *Who Protects the Ocean?* (St. Paul MN: West Publ. Co., 1975).

**Dec. 4 STOCKHOLM, UNEP AND GLOBAL POLITICS**

Wayland Kennet, "The Stockholm Conference", *International Affairs* (Jan. 1972), 33-45.

Maurice Strong, "One Year After Stockholm", *Foreign Affairs* (July 1973), 690-707.

Lars-Goran Engfield, "The United Nations and Human Environment", *International Organization* (Summer 1973), 393-412.

Anne Feraru, "Transnational Political Interests and the Global Environment", *International Organization* (Jan. 1974), 31-55.

Lawrence Juda, "Negotiating a Treaty on Environmental Modification Warfare".

UNEP, "Review of the Environmental Situation and of Activities Relating to the Environment Programme", UNEP/GC/30.

UNEP, "Review of Institutional Arrangements For International Environmental Cooperation", UNEP/GC/75.

UNEP, "Report of the Governing Council of UNEP on the Work of its Fourth Session", UNEP/GC/85.

# Energy and Environment in Global Ecopolitics

**Dennis Pirages** Spring 1980
Behavioral and Social Sciences 101 / University of Maryland / College Park, MD 20742

**REQUIRED BOOKS:**
All Paperbacks
Earl Cook, *Man, Energy, Society* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976).
W. Jackson Davis, *The Seventh Year* (NY: Norton, 1979).
Willis Harman, *An Incomplete Guide to the Future* (NY: Norton, 1979).
Denis Hayes, *Rays of Hope* (NY: Norton, 1978).

**RECOMMENDED:**
Herbert Leff, *Experience, Environment, and Human Potentials* (NY: Oxford, 1978).

## COURSE SCHEDULE

**Jan. 17** Introduction: Energy and environment as human problems—behavioral and social science aspects.

**Jan. 22** A futures perspective on contemporary problems—linear vs. cyclical views of history.
Harman, Chs. 1, 2.

**Jan. 24** The Industrial Revolution and Socioeconomic Growth—The Central Role of Energy—The Present Period of Transition.
Harman, Chs. 3-6; Davis, Chs. 1, 2, 11.

**Jan. 29** The United States—World's Original Oil Barons—History of Fossil Fuel usage in the U.S.—What sectors consume energy—Depletion of U.S. reserves.
Davis, Ch. 3, Cook, Chs. 1, 3, 4.

**Jan. 31** The Physical Basis of Global Energy Problems—The Nature of Non-Renewable Resources—Fund vs. Income Sources of Energy.
Cook, Chs. 12, 13.

**Feb. 5** Basic Principles of Energy Utilization—Energy and Social Evolution.
Cook, Chs. 5, 6, 7.

**Feb. 7** Energy as a Global Problem—World Distribution of Energy Resources—Global Energy Flows.
Cook, Chs. 8, 9.

**Feb. 12** The Global Politics of Energy—OPEC and Gasoline Prices—How Industries Use Energy.
Cook, Chs. 10, 11.

**Feb. 14** Solutions to Energy Problems—the Soft Path Alternatives.
Hayes, Chs. 9, 10, 11.

**Feb. 19** The Nuclear and Thermonuclear Alternatives—Mechanics.
Davis, Ch. 4.

**Feb. 21** Nuclear Power—A Cost-Benefit Analysis.
Hayes, Ch. 3.

**Feb. 26** Nuclear Power—A Global Political Issue.

**Feb. 28** Eating Oil—The Link Between Fossil Fuels and Food Production.
Davis, Chs. 9, 10.

**Mar. 4** Mid Term Examination.

**Mar. 6** Technology, Growth, Environmental Quality—the Trade-Offs.
Davis, Chs. 1, 2.

**Mar. 18** The Nature of Natural Resources.
Davis, Ch. 5.

**Mar. 20** The Physical Basis of Environmental Integrity.
Davis, Ch. 6.

**Mar. 25** Environmental Pollution—Causes and Consequences.

**Mar. 27** Environmental Policy in the U.S.—Legislation and Organization.
Davis, Ch. 7.

**Apr. 1** Environmental Problems in Comparative Perspective

**Apr. 3** Limits to Growth—The Global Debate.

**Apr. 8** An Economist's Perspective on Environmental Problems.

**Apr. 10** The Global Management of Technology and its Spin Offs.

**Apr. 15** The Transfer of Hazardous Technologies and Techniques.

**Apr. 17** The Dimensions of Global Pollution.
Hayes, Chs. 1, 2.

**Apr. 22** International Law, Organization and Global Pollution.

**Apr. 24** Energy and Social Organization—the Decentralization Option.
Cook, Chs. 14, 15.

**Apr. 29** The Conserving Society.
Davis, Ch. 13.

**May 1** Images of the Post-Industrial Society—The Coming of the Golden Age?
Harman, Chs. 7, 8, 9; Hayes, Ch. 12.

# Scarcity & Society: Ecosystem Strains and Social Change

**Kurt Finsterbusch** Fall 1978
Program in Technology, Resources and Political Economy / University of Maryland/
College Park, MD 20742

This is an abridged version of a course package and paper prepared by Kurt Finsterbusch for the program in Technology, Resources, and Political Economy at the University of Maryland.

This course is an exercise in the extremely difficult task of social forecasting. It begins with a review of environmental problems both in the United States and worldwide that provide a setting for changes in social institutions. Environmental problems in the U.S. are more a result of current levels and patterns of consumption than a result of overpopulation. The U.S. consumption of energy and materials, therefore, is described and the attitudes, values and choices responsible for the consumption patterns are examined. Environmental problems in the U.S. are also the result of inadequate institutions and inappropriate values and the course attempts to identify them. The focus of the first part of the course, then, is on the need for social change to preserve the capacity of the ecosystem to support populous modern societies. The remainder of the course analyzes theories of social change, recent changes which directly or indirectly affect the man/environment relationship, and theories of social engineering in order to predict changes in the structure of future societies. Various scenarios for the future are reviewed in the final section. The instructor and students are encouraged jointly to work out scenarios which utilize both current trends and sociological theories in designing preferred alternatives.

## COURSE FORMAT

This course is designed as an upper class course for a single 15-week semester. Class size is expected to be too large for a seminar, but not too large to have some class discussion.

## PART I. THE NEED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: THE STRAINED ECOSYSTEM

(seven weeks)

The first part of the course diagnoses the problems of the deteriorating environment and diminishing resources which threaten to undermine the basis for current life styles in modern advanced societies and to threaten underdeveloped countries with possible economic collapse and even widespread starvation.

### A. Pressures on the Ecosystem (two weeks)

The environmental crisis grows out of the interrelationships among four factors: population, per capita consumption levels, the availability of resources, and the capacity of the ecosystem to remain productive as pollution accumulates. In this section, we will: 1) review past and present population growth rates; 2) examine the world food, energy, and material resource supply/demand ratios with a focus on limits, conservation, and environmental problems; and 3) assess the debate over the extent of the environmental crisis and the carrying capacity of the world's ecosystem.

**Readings:**

Gail W. Finsterbusch, *Man and Earth: Their Changing Relationship* (Indianapol . Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1977).

Parker G. Marden and Dennis Hodgson, eds., *Population, Environment, and the Quality of Life* (NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1975).

Donella H. Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth*, 2nd edition, (NY: Universe Books, 1974).

H. S. D. Cole et al., eds., *Models of Doom: A Critique of the Limits to Growth* (NY: Universe Books, 1973).

**B. The Dependence of Americans on High Levels of Energy and Material Consumption** (two weeks)

The environmental crisis results from the behaviors of individuals and organizations which are shaped by values and institutions. This section indicts the American consumer as a contributor to the impending crisis. Industry is also indicted but the emphasis here is on individuals and their choices. The problem is not just with a few isolated choices but with the American standard of living and style of life.

This section examines specific areas of consumption (choice of housing, choice of transportation, and choice of leisure activities and goods) and then concludes with a review of several studies of American values and quality of life.

**Readings:**

Frank M. Andrews and Stephen B. Withey, *Social Indicators of Well-Being* (NY: Plenum Press, 1976).

Angus Campbill et al., *The Quality of American Life* (NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976).

Staffan Burenstam Linder, *The Harried Leisure Class* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970).

J. R. Murray et al., *The Household Impact and Response to the Energy Crisis* (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1974).

George Katona and Burkhard Strumpel, *A New Economic Era* (NY: Elsevier, 1978).

Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (NY: Random House, 1970).

Ben J. Wattenberg, *The Real America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974).

**C. The Failure of Institutions and Values to Achieve the Requirements for a Healthy Ecosystem** (three weeks)

The previous section focused on individual choices. The present section focusses on the failure of institutions and organizations to function in ways that preserve or benefit the environment. The first three portions of this section look at the problems of population control, wasteful utilization of resources and inefficient utilization of land and water as institutional failures. The last three portions evaluate specific institutions and find them wanting. Democracy seemingly fails to manage the environment; international organizations fail to resolve international conflicts; and modern warfare tends to make everyone losers.

**Readings:**

Dennis C. Pirages and Paul R. Ehrlich, *Ark II* (NY: The Viking Press, 1974).

Charles H. Anderson, *The Sociology of Survival* (Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1976).

Paul R. and Anne H. Ehrlich, *The End of Affluence* (NY: Ballantine Books, 1974).

John Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature* (NY: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1974).

Robert L. Heilbroner, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect* (NY: Norton, 1974).

William Ophuls, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity* (SF: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1977).

Edwin T. Haefel, *Representative Government and Environmental Management* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1973).

Lester R. Brown, *World Without Borders* (NY: Random House, 1972).

Richard A. Falk, *The Endangered Planet* (NY: Random House, 1971).

H. C. Greisman and Kurt Finsterbusch, "The Modernization of Warfare", *Society* (May 1975).

Kurt Finsterbusch and H. C. Greisman, "The Unprofitability of War in the Twentieth Century", *Social Problems*, 22 (1975), 450-463.

## PART II. SOCIAL CHANGE RESULTING FROM ECOSYSTEM STRAINS: THEORIES, SOURCES, OBSERVATIONS AND SCENARIOS OF MACRO SOCIAL CHANGES (eight weeks)

A goal of this course is for the students to predict the future shape of American society on the basis of theories and facts. The need for change has been reviewed in Part I and predictions of change conclude Part II. But intelligently predicting social change requires a grasp of social change theory and current trends and developments which are covered in the first four sections of Part II.

### A. Macro Social Change Theory (two weeks)

For the purposes of this course macro social change theory is divided into seven categories which are not entirely mutually exclusive. A large number of theories can be classified as evolutionary in contrast to the few cyclical theories. Then three types of structural functionalism can be identified: systems theory, conflict theory and environmental. Finally, theories of restructuring social movements and social psychological theories of macro social change will be discussed.

**Readings:**

Richard P. Appelbaum, *Theories of Social Change* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970).

Randall Collins, *Conflict Sociology* (NY: Academic Press, 1975).

Jonathan H. Turner, *The Structure of Sociological Theory* (Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1978).

Amitai and Eva Etzioni, eds., *Social Change* (NY: Basic Books, 1964).

Talcott Parsons, *Societies: Comparative and Evolutionary Perspectives* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

Amitai Etzioni, *The Active Society* (NY: The Free Press, 1968).

Sarajane Heidt and Amitai Etzioni, eds., *Societal Guidance* (NY: Thomas J. Crowell Co., 1969).

Neil J. Smelser, *A Theory of Collective Behavior* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962).

Robert H. Lauer, *Perspectives on Social Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1973).

Szyman Chodak, *Societal Development* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973).

### B. Recent Changes Indirectly Affecting the Man/Environment Relationship (one week)

The theories of social change reviewed in the previous section are attempts to identify the way important variables relate to each other, singly and in combination, so that predictions can be made once initial conditions are under stood. Part I identified many of the current conditions. This and the next sections identify others—specifically the recent changes which indirectly or directly will affect the man/environment relationship. Here we explore some of the changes indirectly affecting the man/environment relationship: fertility rates, the environment movement, the health movement, central city resettlement by middle class couples, changes in prices, and technological innovation.

**Readings:**

Denis Hayes, *Rays of Hope* (NY: Norton, 1977).

The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, *Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth*, Vol. I of the Commission's Research Reports (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1972).

Paul R. Ehrlich et al., *Ecoscience: Population, Resources, Environment.*

Parker G. Marden and Dennis Hodgson, eds., *Population, Environment, and the Quality of Life.*

George Katona and Burkhard Strumpel, *A New Economic Era.*

John Passmore, *Man's Responsibility for Nature.*

S. Fred Singer, "Growth in the Closed-Cycle Economy", in Kenneth D. Wilson, ed., *Prospects for Growth* (NY: Praeger, 1977).

Ronald Freedman and Bernard Berelson, "The Human Population", *Scientific American*, 231 (1974).

Odom Fanning, *Man and His Environment: Citizen Actions* (NY: Harper & Row, 1975).

Peter Schrag, *The End of the American Future* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1973).

**C. Recent Changes Directly Affecting the Man/Environment Relationship** (one week)
This section focuses on the actions which are being taken to obtain more resources, protect the environment, and conserve. We first look at recently enacted or proposed legislation and then examine the intensified development of energy resources and its boom-town consequences.

**Readings:**

Edwin T. Haefele, *Representative Government and Environmental Management.*

Dennis C. Pirages and Paul R. Ehrlich, *Ark II.*

Odom Fanning, *Man and His Environment: Citizen Action.*

John S. Gilmore, "Boom Towns May Hinder Energy Resource Development", *Science*, 191 (1976).

Charles F. Courtess and Bernie Jones, "The Sociological Analysis of Boom Towns", *Western Sociological Review*, 8 (1977).

Ronald L. Little, "Some Social Consequences of Boom Towns", *North Dakota Law Review*, 53 (1977).

**D. Engineering Social Change** (one week)
The environmental crisis, like the crisis of the Great Depression and the World Wars, will probably require strong federal leadership and action. Muddling through will not work. In this section, the course considers how decisions are made and how they should be made. One feature of good decision-making examined here is a social impact assessment of the alternative choices, including the decision to not take action.

**Readings:**

Kurt Finsterbusch and C. P. Wolf, eds., *Methodology of Social Impact Assessment* (Stroudsburg, PA: Dowden, Hutchinson and Ross, 1977).

Edwin T. Haefele, *Representative Government and Environmental Management.*

Roland L. Warren, *Social Change and Human Purpose* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1977).

John Friedmann, *Retracking America* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1973).

Amitai Etzioni, *The Active Society.*

Sarajane Heidt and Amitai Etzioni, *Societal Guidance.*

Jeanne Nienaber and Aaron Wildavsky, *The Budgeting and Evaluation of Federal Recreation Programs* (NY: Basic Books, 1973).

**E. Future Scenarios** (three weeks)
This last section attempts to predict the future of the U.S. and the world in light of the impending environmental crisis. The first part reviews the general predictions of futurists from Daniel Bell to Herman Kahn, most of whom see the U.S. becoming more technological, centralized, and planned. Wide differences of opinion exist, however, on the future of democracy in the U.S. and the possibility of continuing economic growth.

The second part re-examines the economic growth/no growth debate. We will look not only at the economic and environmental limits to growth but at the social limits of growth as well. In particular, we will explore the problem of achieving a steady-state economy in the U.S. while the rest of the world is in economic chaos and while many groups in the U.S. have an interest in growth.

The remainder of this section assumes the transition to a non-growth or limited growth economy in the U.S. and estimates the economic, political, social and cultural consequences of this transition.

**Readings:**

Donella H. Meadows et al., *The Limits of Growth.*
Lester R. Brown, *The Twenty-Ninth Day.*
H. S. D. Cole et al., eds., *Models of Doom.*
Dennis C. Pirages and Paul R. Ehrlich, *Ark II.*
Charles H. Anderson, *The Sociology of Survival.*
Paul R. and Anne H. Ehrlich, *The End of Affluence.*
Robert C. Heilbroner, *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.*
William Ophuls, *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity.*
Sterling Brubacker, *In Command of Tomorrow* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1975).
Alfred Sauvy, *Zero-Growth?* (NY: Praeger, 1975).
William Ophuls, "The Scarcity Society", *Harpers,* 248 (April 1974).
Herman Kahn and B. Bruce-Briggs, *Things to Come* (NY: Macmillan, 1972).
Edison Electric Institute, *Economic Growth in the Future* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1976).
Kenneth D. Wilson, ed., *Prospects for Growth* (NY: Prager, 1977).
Mancur Olsen and Hans L. Landsberg, eds., *The No-Growth Society* (NY: Norton, 1973); reprint of Fall 1973 issue of *Daedalus.*
Dennis L. Meadows and Donella H. Meadows, eds., *Toward Global Equilibrium* (Cambridge, MA: Wright-Allen Press, 1973).
Dennis C. Pirages, ed., *The Sustainable Society* (NY: Praeger, 1977).
Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (NY: Basic Books, 1973).
Herman Kahn et al., *The Next 200 Years* (NY: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1976).
Herman E. Daly, ed., *Toward A Steady-State Economy* (SF: W. H. Freeman, 1973).

# Appropriate Technology and the Politics of Decentralization

**Dennis Livingston** Fall 1978
Dept. of History and Political Science / Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute / Troy, NY 12181

Modern technological practice is based upon a set of orthodox assumptions which are seldom criticized – assumptions about efficiency, scale, growth, productivity, problem solving, feasibility, and the normal role of technics in society. This class sets out to question many of those assumptions in the context of a positive inquiry into alternative technical, social and political institutions. In particular, we will examine proposals for, and experiments in, small scale, lower energy, less complex, ecologically sound, democratically compatible technologies and the theories used to justify them. Our purpose is not to advocate any particular style of technological development, but to open up a realm of discussion often smothered by rigid platitudes to reconsider how broad the possibilities might be. An open confrontation with the logic of modern technological imperatives, our inquiry will address the appropriate relationships between technical and political forms of life.

*—Langon Winner, AT course at MIT*

We will investigate the proposition that technology is not neutral; that it is the product of a given social and political system and evolves in an environment of available resources and skills. Technologies originating in one set of circumstances are often not appropriate to the entirely different circumstances in other nations. If these technologies have been developed without regard to their environmental and social effects, they may be inappropriate even within their parent society.

*—Ken Darrow, AT course at Stanford*

## BOOKS TO BE PURCHASED

E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper, 1976).
Richard Merrill, ed., *Radical Agriculture* (NY: Harper, 1976).
Amory Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths* (NY: Ballinger, 1978).
Percival Goodman, *The Double E* (NY: Doubleday, 1979).
Nicolas Jequier, *Appropriate Technology: Part I* (Volunteers in Asia)
Ernest Callenbach, *Ecotopia* (NY: Bantam, 1977).

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The grade will be based on three written pieces—two essays based on class reading and discussion, counting for half the final grade, and a research paper, for the other half. The essays are 5 pages each and the paper 12-15 pages. The final grade will also take into account class participation.

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

Note: Articles will be distributed in class.

## I. INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY?

**Jan. 24**

Lovins, xiii-xvii
Schumacher, 1-9
Jequier, 7-20
Michael Marien, "The Two Visions of Post-Industrial Society"
Langdon Winner, "The Political Philosophy of Appropriate Technology", *Technology in Society* (1979)

## II. PHILOSOPHY OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

**Jan. 31** Schumacher, 12-70

**Feb. 2** Schumacher, 72-109

**Feb. 7** Schumacher, 110-160

**Feb. 9**

Schumacher, 161-208
Merrill, 111-126

**Feb. 14** Schumacher, 210-275

**Feb. 16**

R. J. Congdon, *Introduction to Appropriate Technology* (Rodale, 1977).
Philip Bereano, "Is Less More?", *Science for the People* (1978)

**Feb. 21** ESSAY I due

## III. APPLICATIONS OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

**Feb. 23**

Schumacher, 277-281
Jequier, 20-48

**Feb. 28**

Jequier, 49-80
Lovins, 3-31

**Mar. 4** Lovins, 31-60

**Mar. 7** Lovins, 63-123

**Mar. 9** Lovins, 123-159

**Mar. 14**

Lovins, 161-222
U.S. Senate, *Alternative Long-Range Energy Strategies* (GPO, 1977), 1267-1332, 1364-1375

**Mar. 16** Merrill, xv-xix, 3-25, 212-223

**Mar. 28** Merrill, 259-327

**Mar. 30** Merrill, 26-51

**Apr. 4** Merrill, 52-110

**Apr. 6** Merrill, 129-167, 188-211

**Apr. 11** ESSAY II due

**Apr. 13** Goodman, 4-72

**Apr. 18** Goodman, 73-147

## IV. THE WORLD TRANSFORMED

**Apr. 27-May 4** Callenbach

**May 16** RESEARCH PAPER due

**Apr. 20**
Goodman, 147-179
Merrill, 171-187

**Apr. 25**
Goodman, 183-298
Merrill, 224-249

# H

# Culture, Community, Values and Change

Anthropology and The Rise of Global Civilization
Elliott P. Skinner

The Foundations of Lindisfarne
William Irwin Thompson

Politics and Humanism: The Eupsychian Society
Stephen Woolpert

Ethical Strategies for a Global Community
David Rosenberg

Transitional Societies
Paul Wehr

Evolution of Social Change Strategies
Paul Bernstein

Women, Society and Change
Elise Boulding

Social Change Strategy
Paula Rayman

# Anthropology and the Rise of the Global Civilization

**Elliott P. Skinner** Summer 1978
Anthropology S4238D / Columbia University / New York, NY 10027

The signs of the emergence of a global civilization are everywhere, sometimes they are trite and cliches such as the spread of the "blue-jeans/T-shirt complex" around the globe, and at other times very ominous, such as the activities of multi-national companies which are busily integrating the most exotic societies into a planet-wide economic system. Given the interests of almost all of the founders of anthropology in the evolution of human cultures and their diffusion through space and time it is surprising that the global change processes have not attracted the attention of many contemporary anthropologists. One only has to mention Edward Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan, Elliott Smith, Father Wilhelm Schmidt, Adolph Bastian, J. F. McLennan, and Sir Henry Maine to recall these people, whether "evolutionists," or "diffusionists," were asking questions about the nature of and changes in human civilizations.

The aims of this experimental course are to examine the nature of the basic processes of culture change, and to determine whether the now-classic theories can help us understand the nature of the emerging global civilization. An attempt will also be made to develop new theories to deal with the contemporary scene, and to propose methodologies to provide the basic data without which the nature of the problem cannot be understood. Initially, there will be lectures covering the basic issues, and these will be followed by presentations by students of papers dealing with aspects of the global civilization.

## 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

## 2. THE EVOLUTION AND DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

Readings:

Leslie A. White, "Man and Culture and Energy and Tools" *The Evolution of Culture* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

Ralph Linton, "Discovery, Invention and their Cultural Setting" *The Study of Man*, pp. 304-343.

Marvin Harris, "Diffusionism" *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (NY: Crowell, 1968), 373-392.

Alfred Kroeber, "Stimulus Diffusion" *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952), 345-357.

Alfred Kroeber, "Cultural Intensity and Climax" *The Nature of Culture*, pp. 337-343.

Julian Steward, "Levels of Socio-cultural Integration", *Theory in Anthropology*: Robert A. Manners and David Kaplan, eds. (NY: Hawthorne Aldine Pub., 1971), 127-135.

Alfred Kroeber, "The Ancient Oikoumana as a Historic Culture Aggregate", *The Nature of Culture*, pp. 379-395.

## 3. THE EXPANSION OF THE WEST AND THE SPREAD OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

Readings:

I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (NY: Academic Press, 1974).

Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (NY: Paragon, 1966).

E. F. Frazier, *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World*, Part I.

C. Balandier, "The Colonial Situation", *Social Change*, I. Wallerstein (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 34-61.

Raymond Kennedy, "The Colonial Crisis and the Future", *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Ralph Linton, (NY: Octagon, 1979), 306-346.

**4. PROCESSES MAKING FOR THE CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CIVILIZATION**
Readings:

B. Malenowski, "Dynamics of Culture Change", *Social Change*, I. Wallerstein, pp. 11-33.

Godfrey and Monica Wilson, "The Expansion in Scale of Traditional Societies", *Beyond the Frontier*, P. Bohanson and Fred Plog, eds., (1967).

Julian H. Steward, *Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies* (Champaign, IL: Univ. Of Illinois Press, 1967), Vol. I, The Introduction.

G. Beiju, "Modern Patterns of International Migratory Movement", *Migration*, J. A. Jackson, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

I. Wallerstein, "The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World Economy", *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, Peter C. Gutkin and Immanuel Wallerstein (NY: Sage, 1976), 30-57.

J. S. Furnirall, "Some Problems of Tropical Economy", *Fabian Colonial Essay*, Rita Hinden, ed. (London: 1945), 161-184.

E. P. Skinner, "Strangers in West African Societies", *Africa* XXXIII, No. 4 (Oct. 1963).

Thomas L. Blair, *The International Urban Crisis* (NY: Hill & Wang, 1974), 15-44.

The Economic and Political Consequences of Multi-national Enterprises: An Anthology (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Busn., 1972).

Julian W. Pye, "Political Culture and Political Development", *Political Culture and Political Development*, Lucien Pye and Sidney Verba (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965), 3-20.

Alex Inkeles, "The Emerging Structure of the World", *World Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (1975), 467-495.

# Seminar: The Foundations of Lindisfarne

**William Irwin Thompson**
The Lindisfarne Association / Crestone, CO 81131

Fall 1977

The work of the Lindisfarne Association is based upon the assertion that we are living in a period of cultural transformation in which the old international industrial society is being replaced by a new sacred world culture. This transformation is seen as a complex process in which apocalyptic destruction (wars, economic and ecological catastrophes) takes place alongside millennial creativity and cultural evolution to a higher stage of consciousness. The world-denying mysticism of the East and the world-destroying materialism of the West become the ideological parents of a new planetary culture that moves beyond the old either/or categories of evolution or revolution, technology or mysticism, industrial development or a return to nature. The seminar will explore the ideas that are basic to the Lindisfarne Association and will seek to understand them in the light of the work that a contemplative educational community can do to foster a new spiritual awakening of humanity.

The Lindisfarne Association is a contemplative community of scholars devoted to the study and realization of a new planetary culture. We describe the new culture as planetary rather than international or postindustrial because these terms describe political structures, national cultures, and corporate systems. International postindustrial civilization is expressed by the corporate systems that interlock business, government, and education; it is a culture based upon urbanization and nationalism in which "man" tries to surround nature with technology. The cultural vehicles of postindustrial civilization are the megalopolis and the multinational corporation, but the vehicles of the new planetary culture are at once smaller than cities and larger in frame of reference than multinational corporations. With the small, decentralized, meta-industrial village as figure and the planet as ground, the identification of a new particle comes from the realization of a new whole.

Medieval man dwelled in a village but lived in Christendom, so now planetary humanity may dwell in communities, but they live in a new consciousness of the relationship between culture and nature, of "a new heaven and a new earth." These planetary villages are not old style utopian communities that shut themselves away from the world but centers for the radiation of a new culture. The utopian community closes in upon itself to await the end of the world; the planetary community opens outward with other groups around the world to effect an evolutionary transformation of human culture.

Planetary culture is best defined in terms of anomalies, for anomalies express the limits to the categories of the old "paradigm." Planetary culture is neither world-denying mysticism nor world destroying materialism; it is a Pythagorean synthesis of science, religion, and art; it is spiritual ecstasy *and* political economy, pre-industrial magic *and* post-industrial technology, myth *and* history; in short, it is an embodiment of transcendence.

## METHOD

Each week a particular text will be offered for consideration by the members of the seminar. The participants are expected to read the assigned work according to the schedule and come to the seminar prepared to discuss the material. The instructor will not be giving lectures in this course.

## SCHEDULE AND READINGS

| | |
|---|---|
| Sep. 9 | Wm. Irwin Thompson, *At the Edge of History* (NY: Harper & Row, 1971). |
| Sep. 10 | Public lecture, "The Coming World Civilization". |
| Sep. 16 | Thompson, *Passages About Earth* (NY: Harper & Row, 1974). |
| Nov. 4 | Doris Lessing, *Briefing for a Descent Into Hell* (NY: Knopf, 1971). |
| Nov. 18 | Herman Hesse, *Magister Ludi* (NY: Bantam, 1970). |
| Nov. 25 | Continuation of the discussion of Hesse's *Magister Ludi.* |
| Dec. 9 | C. S. Lewis, *Perelandra* (NY: Macmillan, 1944). |
| Dec. 16 | C. S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength* (London: John Lane, 1945). |
| Dec. 23 | *The Findhorn Garden* (NY: Harper & Row, 1975). |
| Jan. 6 | David Spangler, *Revelation: The Birth of a New Age* (CA: Rainbow Bridge, 1977). |
| Jan. 13 | Continuation of the discussion of Spangler's *Revelation.* |
| Jan. 20 | David Spangler, *Manifestation* (Scotland: Findhorn Publications, 1973). |
| Jan. 27 | Satprem, *Sri Aurobindo or The Adventure of Consciousness* (NY: Harper & Row, 1974). |
| Feb. 3 | Continuation of the discussion of Satprem's *Sri Aurobindo.* |
| Feb. 10 | Sri Aurobindo, *The Destiny of Man.* |
| Mar. 3 | Discussion of the Mother and Auroville. |
| Mar. 10 | Jonathan Cott, *Stockhausen: Conversations with the Composer;* and listening to Stockhausen's *Stimmung.* |
| Mar. 17 | Teilhard de Chardin, *The Future of Man* (NY: Harper & Row, 1964). |
| Mar. 24 | Teilhard de Chardin, *Man's Place in Nature* (NY: Harper & Row, 1960); and selected writings. |
| Mar. 31 | Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (NY: Harper & Row, 1972), Parts V, VI. |
| Apr. 7 | *Earth's Answer: Explorations of Planetary Culture at the Lindisfarne Conferences* (NY: Harper & Row, 1977). |
| Apr. 14 | John and Nancy Todd, *Tomorrow is our Permanent Address* (NY: Harper & Row, 1979). |
| Apr. 21 | E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973). |
| Apr. 28 | Richard Baker-roshi, "Buddhist Economics and Right Livelihood" (Lindisfarne lecture). |
| | Suzuki-roshi, *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind,* ed. by T. Dixon (NY: Weatherhill, 1970). |
| May 5 | Gary Snyder, Lindisfarne lecture; "Four Changes" from *Turtle Island.* |
| May 12 | Saul Mendlovitz, *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (NY: Free Press, 1975). |
| May 19 | W. I. Thompson, *Evil and World Order* (NY: Harper & Row, 1976). |
| May 26 | W.I. Thompson, *Darkness and Scattered Light* (NY: Doubleday, 1978). |
| June 3 | Exploration of "The Future of Knowledge" and the future of Lindisfarne. |

# Politics and Humanism: The Eupsychian Society

**Stephen Woolpert** Spring 1980
Seminar in Public Policy / Dept. of Government & Politics / University of Maryland / College Park. MD 20742

This is an abridged version of a course package and occasional paper prepared by Professor Woolpert for the Program in Technology, Resources, and Political Economy at the University of Maryland.

## INTRODUCTION

Scholarly inquiry into political phenomena now takes place within the framework of a particular paradigm. Without a paradigm the scholar would face an overwhelming and incomprehensible flow of sheer data. Paradigms serve to provide the domain assumptions and ground rules which organize and direct research. The purpose of this course is for students to examine a broad range of political concepts, arrangements and problems within the context of an alternative humanistic paradigm.

This paradigm contrasts sharply in many respects with the empirical-scientific paradigm which currently prevails in the study of politics. For example, the prevailing paradigm emphasizes analytic knowledge and reductionist, value-free theory. The humanistic paradigm views analytic and synthetic forms of knowledge as complementary aspects of complete knowledge, and encourages holistic, normative theory. It also minimizes the tendency to overdifferentiate and accelerate opposing tendencies by holding polarities to be mutually exclusive yet mutually reinforcing aspects of a bipolar reality. Moreover, it views experiential and material realities as inseparable. All inquiries into the physical universe involve a transaction between subject and object, a consensus on concepts and measurements, and the selection of data according to a set of values.

The course materials deal with a wide range of specific implications and applications of the humanistic perspective to contemporary political realities. It is not intended to prove the prevailing paradigm wrong or the humanistic paradigm right. What separates one paradigm from another is not the greater degree of truth which one possesses, but rather a "gestalt switch", a total reconstruction of raw data into an alternative whole.

It is not, therefore, the purpose of the course for students to agree with the humanistic perspective on politics. Rather, it is an expository endeavor, intended to articulate and explore the major features of humanistic political concepts and arrangements. Rather than presenting a full-blown, formal theory, it provides a lens which give a particular focus to one's understanding of politics. If students understand and demonstrate their mastery of the concepts and techniques which the focus reveals, the course will have been successful.

## COURSE FORMAT

The course, as outlined here, is designed to be a seminar for upper-level undergraduates, but could also be offered as a graduate-level course. To allow sufficient participation by class members, the number of students should ideally be between ten and fifteen, and in no case more than twenty.

Class periods are used primarily for discussion of the assigned readings and for experiential learning exercises. Presentations of material by the instructor in lecture format may be used to supplement these two main objectives. Suggested discussion topics and classroom exercises are included in this model. The choice of specific exercises should not be predetermined but should reflect the particular audience and the particular inclinations and abilities of the instructor.

The course is designed for a fifteen-week semester. For shorter terms, the section on specific social problems could be cut down, or the readings for weeks four and five ("The Humanization of Society") could be deleted.

**Reading Materials**

Paul Kurtz,ed., *Moral Problems in Contemporary Society* (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1969).
E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973). (paperback)
Charles Hampden-Turner, *Sane Asylum* (NY: William Morrow, 1977).
In addition, portions of various journal articles and books are assigned by topic.

## EVALUATION

Competition for grades is incongruent with the subject matter of the course. The classroom atmosphere should be one of openness, acceptance and trust. Grading on a fixed curve is, therefore, discouraged. Grades should reflect the quality of written work and in-class discussion of assigned readings. Students should in no case, however, be graded on the basis of the experiential exercises done in class. If possible, each student at the onset of the course should make a "contract" with the instructor, in which the student determines the grade he or she desires and the instructor determines the appropriate requirements, taking into account the prior course work, class standing and particular interests of the student.

## PART ONE: HUMANISM AS A HOLISTIC PARADIGM

This part of the course introduces students to the humanistic perspective which will be applied throughout. Questions about ontology, epistemology and moral philosophy are raised, and the answers of contemporary humanists are examined. These answers create the context within which political concepts and problems will be examined later in the course. The context or paradigm is holistic; that is, it stresses the unity rather than the differentiation of phenomena, it values both synthetic and analytic forms of knowledge, and it views experiential and physical realities not as separate but as ultimately interdependent. The final two weeks of this section provide initial glimpses, both utopian and non-utopian, of the socio-political implications of the humanistic perspective.

### Week 1: What is Humanism?

Mark Satin, *New Age Politics* (NY: Dell, 1979), Parts I, III.
Ursula Le Guinn, *The Winds Twelve Quarters*, pp. 224-231.
Paul Kurtz, "What is Humanism?", in Kurtz, ed., op. cit., pp. 1-14.

### Week 2: Humanism, Knowledge, and Social Science.

The readings for this week suggest that in the interests of developing a "pure", objective social science, we have undersold humankind and its capacities. The broader image of man expounded by humanists leads to a new picture of how knowledge is acquired and used in a social context.

Kuhn's concept of "paradigm" will be presented to help students see the connection between these readings and the study of political phenomena. (Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962).) Discussion will emphasize the analytic/synthetic (or intellectual/intuitive) distinction by exploring the strengths and weaknesses of each mode of knowledge. Differences between experiential and abstract (symbolic) knowledge will also be covered. Is one form of knowledge more "real" than another? More communicable? More scientific? More valid?

Readings:

Robert Ornstein, ed., *The Nature of Human Consciousness* (SF: W. H. Freeman, 1973), 23-60, 67-86, 143-241, 317-326.

Michael Polanyi, "Understanding Ourselves".

Thomas Blackburn, "Sensuous-Intellectual Complementarity in Science".

G. William Domhoff, "But Why Did They Sit on the King's Right in the First Place?"

Arthur Deikman, "The Meaning of Everything".

**Week 3: Humanism and Social Values.**

The humanistic perspective does not claim to be value neutral. It supports certain types of values (openness, trust, reciprocity, synthesis, responsibility, participation, complementarity) and rejects others. More importantly, it endorses certain *processes of valuing* more than the actual content of people's values. The readings this week are intended to make students aware of the ethical consequences of a humanistic world view. The class will also devote considerable time to the exercises in S. Simon, L. Howe, and H. Kirschenbaum, *Values Clarification* (NY: Hart, 1972). Emphasis will be placed on "prizing" and publicly affirming one's values, choosing values freely and after consideration of alternatives, and ways of acting on one's beliefs.

Readings:

From Kurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-95, 227-254.

Abraham Maslow, "The Good Life of the Self-Actualizing Person".

Carl Rogers, "Toward a Modern Approach to Values".

Lawrence Kohlberg, "A Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education", *The Humanist*, (1972).

Lickona, *Moral Development and Behavior*, Chs. 1, 7, 8, 9, 18.

Satin, *New Age Politics*, Part IV.

**Week 4: The Humanization of Society (Utopian Images).**

This week's readings provide students with an initial glimpse of the good society from a humanistic perspective. The issue here is not feasibility or attainability. Rather, students are asked to suspend their skepticism temporarily while examining utopian experiments, either fictional or non-fictional. How might the models of man and the social values from earlier readings be translated into social arrangements? Students will also be encouraged to identify the values paramount in the utopian societies they read about.

Readings:

Aldous Huxley, *Island* (NY: Harper & Row, 1962).

Satin, Ch. 13.

**Week 5: The Humanization of Society (Non-Utopian Images): Social Transformation.**

The readings this week differ from those in Week 4 primarily in that the authors clearly assume that the kind of society they describe is attainable, although not inevitable. Both are based on realistic analyses of the current condition of society and proceed from there to consider optimistic scenarios.

Following the approach of Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale, each student is asked to describe, briefly and in writing, his/her best possible society and worst possible society. Then students place these extremes at opposite ends of a 10-point scale and locate on that continuum our present society, our society at some specified future time (the year 2000?), the utopian societies from Week 4, etc.

Readings:

Theodore Roszak, *Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Civilization* (NY: Anchor 1979).

Erich Fromm, *The Revolution of Hope* (NY: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 93-140.

## PART TWO: POLITICAL CONCEPTS IN A HOLISTIC PARADIGM

Having covered the philosophical and psychological underpinnings of the humanistic perspective, we now turn to addressing the relevance of the holistic paradigm to political phenomena.

### Week 6: The Problem of Organizational Design and Bureaucracy.

The readings for this week focus not on humanistic approaches to politics, but on the nature of conventional organizations in modern societies. Emphasis is placed on the dysfunctional and pathological characteristics of typical public bureaucracies, both for society and for the individuals working such organizations.

Readings:
Robert Merton, ed., *Reader in Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952).
Karl Mannheim, "Orientations of Bureaucratic Thought", pp. 360-361.
Robert Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", pp. 361-372.
Walter Sharp, "Procedural Vices: La Paperasserie", pp. 407-410.
Anthony Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), 77-78, 92-111.
Studs Terkel, *Working* (NY: Random House, 1972), 340-351.

### Week 7: Humanizing and Transforming Organizations.

The concepts of organizational development and synergy will be discussed, and simulations of problem-solving in a collaborative, participatory context will be conducted.

Readings:
Satin, Chs. 15, 17, 20, 22.
Robert Golembiewski, "Organizational Development in Public Agencies", *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 29, (Sept./Oct. 1969), 367-377.
From Kurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-207: Paul Kurtz, "The Individual, The Organization and Participatory Democracy".
Warren Bennis et al, eds., *The Planning of Change* 3rd ed., (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976): Samuel Culbert, "Consciousness-Raising: A Five-Stage Model for Social and Organizational Change", pp. 231-244.

### Week 8: The Problem of Transforming Political Power.

Both personal power and collective power are dealt with in this section. The key issue is the effect which exercising power has both on the power-holder and on those over whom power is wielded. Synergy implies that power can both ennoble the former and enable the latter. Power is therefore not to be shunned nor seen as inherently corrupting. William Gamson's Simulation SIMSOC (NY: Free Press) will be used to give students the experience of being the target or source of power.

Readings:
Satin, Chs. 15, 17, 20, 22, 23.
From Kurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-278.
From Bennis et al, op. cit.: John McClusky, "Beyond the Carrot and the Stick: Liberation and Power Without Control", pp. 382-423.

### Week 9: The Problem of Humanizing Conflict Resolution (Conceptual Issues).

Politics is a dynamic process in which positions and oppositions constantly evolve, confront each other, and evolve further. Solutions to one conflict situation become the basis for the next conflict. Consistent with the concepts of synergy and self-actualization, conflicts may be viewed as potentially reconcilable and as opportunities to express one's values publicly, to participate in and take responsibility for one's political condition. In this week's readings, the moral underpinnings of the humanistic perspective are applied to the problem of conflict.

The development of increased political competence and efficacy among class members should be facilitated as an antidote to the passivity, cynicism and sense of futility which students often display towards political conflicts. Exercises from J. Wm. Pfeiffer and John Jones, *A Handbook of Structured Exeriences for Human Relations Training* (La Jolla, CA: University Associates, 1977), which involve assertiveness, negotiating and bargaining skills are useful in this regard. Exercises which compare cooperation and competition as problem-solving modes are also important.

Readings:
C. Bay, *Universal Human Rights*, pp. 19-42.
C. Tart, *Altered States of Consciousness*, pp. 159-167.
Gene Sharp, *Exploring Non-Violent Alternatives* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970), 1-72.
Anatole Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience* (NY: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. vii-vx, Chs. 1, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25.

**Week 10: The Problem of Conflict (Tactical Issues).**

This week the focus shifts from ways of viewing and understanding conflict to ways in which people may actually participate in conflict resolution without violating the ethical considerations raised in the previous week.

Readings:
Satin, Chs. 14, 16.
Hess, *Community Technology*.

## PART THREE: SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN A HOLISTIC CONTEXT

The relevance of humanistic values and techniques to the fundamental concept of political inquiry was established in the first two parts. In the final section of the course students focus their attention more narrowly on particular issues of public concern in contemporary society. In the process they will learn not only about the specific nature of these problems but also about ways in which they can contribute to the amelioration of enduring yet urgent policy issues.

**Week 11: Humanism and the Appropriate Scale—Community Development.**

The first problem area to be examined is closest to home: the quality of life in one's community. It is here that conflicts are most immediately felt and most directly tackled. The specific issues confronting communities vary: the process of dealing with them in a humanistic fashion is more uniform.

Reading:
Rowan, op. cit., pp. 123-133.

**Week 12: Transforming Criminal Sanctions.**

Law enforcement agencies both control and support citizens. The humanistic perspective sees these as complementary rather than contradictory activities. The general problems of power, conflict and institutional design which were discussed in PART TWO arise again in this specific context. The concepts of synergy and collaborative authority relationships are well illustrated by humanistic police policies. Promoting the growth of individual officers also addresses key macro-level problems, such as the police subculture, police-community misunderstanding and misuse of police discretion. Teambuilding within police departments overcomes some of the pathologies and dysfunctional aspects of public bureaucracies.

**Week 13: Transforming Criminal Sanctions (continued).**

The focus now shifts away from police and towards the criminal. What responses to crime are compatible with the humanistic perspective? The shortcomings of conventional punishment are better known than the successes of creative sanctions, such as restitution, work-release and half-way houses. Such alternatives to incarceration reflect humanistic assumptions about human nature as well as producing more effective results in many cases than imprisonment.

Readings:
Charles Hampden-Turner, *Sane Asylum* (NY: William Morrow, 1977).
"Justice for Whom", *Psychology Today* (March 1977), pp. 77 ff.

**Week 14: Future Studies.**
The emphasis which the humanistic perspective places on "process" as opposed to "structure" and on "being" and "becoming" as opposed to "doing" and "having" suggests an evolutionary outlook. "Futuristics" is an emerging field in inquiry which allows the extension of humanistic principles to the study of alternative futures. The concepts of responsibility and participation are once again central to a proper appreciaion of this approach to social and species-wide evolution.

**Class Activity:**
Psychosynthesis guided imagery techniques (Assagioli, *op. cit.*) may be used to enable students to visualize their personal and societal goals, to identify obstacles which block the actualization of those goals, and to discover ways of surmounting or removing the barriers. Emphasis should be placed on both ultimate (eupsychian) goals and on intermediate, near-term objectives. Students should come away from the course with a clear sense of how they can promote their on self-discovery through political involvement. Their doubts, fears and confusion about the future should be acknowledged and accepted in the context of responsible, participatory, effective citizenship. Finally, feedback from students about the form and content of the course should be elicited by the instructor.

# Ethical Strategies for a Global Community

**David Rosenberg** Winter, 1976
Department of Political Science / Middlebury College / Middlebury, VT 05753
Moderators: Steven Rockefeller, Department of Religion, Middlebury College; Andy Reding, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Jean Rosenberg, Department of Economics, University of Vermont

> *"For what is a man profited,*
> *if he shall gain the whole*
> *world and lose his own soul?"*
> *—Matthew 16:26*

"It is now abundantly clear," says Theodore Hesburgh, "that the future welfare of all mankind cannot be secured without an unprecedented degree of *global* cooperation." Both the rich and the poor countries have come to realize that they are dependent on an *international* economy to ensure their material well-being, and indeed on a common ecosystem to sustain life itself. For countless millions of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans, this precarious dependence is a matter of survival, not just well-being.

There is a new term for this understanding of our common dependence: global interdependence. It is a thought and a theme that runs counter to many of the shibboleths of the past—nationalism, ethnocentricism, racism, rugged individualism—and even to the Declaration of Independence, whose 200th anniversary we now celebrate.

The concept of interdependene arose in response to the new and unprecedented explosions of technology, bureaucratic organization, and material production that have burst upon the world in modern times. This global perspective represents a modern look at the world. There are, in fact, few serious *human* problems we face today whose impact is not global and which, therefore, require global solutions.

Global solutions presuppose a global community, but what is a global community? This is an ancient and enduring question with many conflicting responses. According to ancient Greek thought, all people were united by a universal essence, but only in a small community—*the polis*—could this essence and unity be realized. Rousseau also contended that a global community could only be realized on the basis of small, self-sufficient communities in which all citizens could meet regularly in a single assembly. Even in today's interdependent world, we can see several attempts to recreate this type of community: Auroville in India, Findhorn in Scotland, and Lindesfarne in the United States.

The opposite vision of a global community is found in the Stoic and Roman idea of the cosmis polis—the *cosmopolis*—a universal political order for the universal human community. This idea has been manifested, in varying degrees, in the Roman Empire, the medieval Catholic Church, the Communist Internationale, and the United Nations.

For the past two centuries, however, the basic unit of human identity and loyalty has been the nation-state. Hegel, Marx, Hamilton, and Madison all came to agree that the nation-state provided greater reality and value than smaller or larger communities. The *polis* was too small to be economically viable, militarily defensible, or culturally diversified, they asserted. The *macropolis* was too large, too oppressive and too presumptuous an institution to govern the whole globe. "The nation," wrote Hegel, was "the Divine Idea as it exists on earth."

In 1776, Adam Smith wrote an economic prescription for this political ideology, significantly titled *An Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations*. Combining nationalism with materialism and individual competition, he argued that the pursuit of individual self-interest in a competitive market economy would lead to the greatest social good. Contemporary corporate industrial systems have succeeded far beyond Smith's expectations in producing material wealth. However, this type of progress has also brought destruction and disillusionment. Fostered by a new social awareness of the full costs of national industrialization, many people have begun to speculate: What are the physical, social, and moral limits to progress or growth? Is universal prosperity possible, and if so, would it lead to peace? Can material goods provide spiritual value? Are the early industrializing values of individualism, efficiency, materialism, and progress still appropriate in a complex, interdependent, global society? These immediate questions are also the eternal questions: What relationship exists between goods and the good life? Is there any other source of order other than power? How can we find a "wisdom to match our sciences?"

## APPROACH:

In this course, we will attempt to understand these questions by examining the general concept of global community at three levels of analysis: the environmental, the social, and the individual. At each level, we will examine the ethical alternatives, or strategies, for a global community. Our approach is as follows:

**1. General formulation of the concept of global community:**
All societies are inherently hierarchical. All must find a balance between 1) organizational and technological requirement for coordination and control, and 2) individual and social needs for identity and community. The central question is how should human diversity be organized in a global community?

**2. Environmental Ethics:**
We are told that infinite material growth is impossible in a world of finite resources. But others say that virtually infinite resources may be available, if not yet accessible, in our solar system. How should we regard our natural environment: as a source of infinite material goods or as a system of biophysical equilibrium?

**3. Social organization:**
In an increasingly interdependent world of finite resources, if some of us consum more, others, of necessity, must consume less. Given the inherent dangers in the growing inequality between the rich nations and the poor nations, should we seek a better global managment of national specialization and interdependence or increased national self-sufficiency and independence?

**4. Individual identity:**
In order to achieve high levels of material production and consumption, industrial societies require an extreme division of labor, highly detailed role requirements and highly predictable standards of behavior from their members. The resulting problems of alienation, anomie, or anxiety have not been cured by affluence, psychotherapy, or soma. In these circumstances, can material goods ever satisfy our spiritual nature? What

are the metaphysical alternatives to the materialistic ethic?

Readings:

The following books are available for purchase in the college bookstore:

George Borgstrom, *The Food-People Dilemma.* North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1974.

Herman E. Daly, ed., *Toward a Steady-State Economy.* San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1973.

William I. Thompson, *Passages about Earth.* New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1971.

E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful.* New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

Richard Wilkinson, *Poverty and Progress.* New York: Praeger, 1973.

Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1975.

## FORMAT:

**Lecture:**
Every Monday morning. Each lecture will provide a review and analysis of the literature on the four topics described above. The required readings under each topic should be completed *before* the Monday lecture. The lectures will be followed, after a short break, by small group discussions.

**Special Events:**
Films, simulations, videotapes, field trips, and guest speakers have been scheduled as noted on the syllabus. Some of these are limited to our course; others are open to all. Be sure to attend all.

**Projects:**
During the first few days of the course, the class will be divided into groups of approximately three to six students. Each group will be responsible for creating and presenting the results of some project relating to the theme of the course: ethical strategies for a global community. A suggested list of projects is attached. The project may take any form, medium, or content that the group desires; the course instructors will provide advice and resources as is necessary. Wednesday and Thursday mornings have been reserved for project group meetings. Any group can meet during these times, or any other times it determines, on campus or off.

**Weekly Review-Discussion-Feedback-Presentation-Critique Sessions:**
Every Friday morning. (Note: All sessions of the course will meet in Monroe Lounge at 9:30 a.m. on the dates indicated on the syllabus, unless otherwise noted.)

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Attend all class sessions and special events; participate in discussions and group projects; and write a short (5-10 double-spaced typewritten pages) final paper. The final paper can be on any topic you want, as long as it is approved by one of the course staff. *Deadlines:* Monday, February 2—Submit a 1-page proposal and outline for staff approval. Monday, February 9—Submit final paper.

## SYLLABUS

### WEEK 1. INTRODUCTIONS

Readings:

George Borgstrom, *The Food-People Dilemma.*

**Wed., January 7, 1:00** Introductory Lecture

**Thurs., January 8**
*3900 Million + 1:* Oxfam, 1974. The film describes the life of one Indian family and its struggle to till the land; discusses the relationship between food production and population in agricultural and urban settings; emphasizes the changing role of women.

*Tilt:* Canadian Film Board and World Bank. 1972. An animated film describing the distribution of global resources: presents three strategies of how to deal with the problems of maldistibution of resources.

**Fri., January 9**
Starpower: a mass simulation game on human nature: social structure, and the distribution of scarce resources.

**Sun., January 11, 11:00**
Chapel Sermon, Prof. Steven Rockefeller, "A Post-Christmas Meditation on the Birth of Christ."

## WEEK 2. GENERAL FORMULATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:
- Herman E. Daly, "Introduction," *Toward a Steady-State Economy.*
- Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth," in Daly, ed.
- Richard A. Falk, "A New Paradigm for International Legal Studies," *Yale Law Journal* (84:969), 1975.
- William I. Thompson, *Passages About Earth.*
  - Recommended Readings:
  - James W. Howe and the staff of the Overseas Development Council, *The U.S. and World Development: Agenda for Action, 1975.* See especially the following articles:
    - Ali A. Mazrui, "The New Interdependence: From Hierarchy to Symmetry."
    - Roger D. Hansen, "The Emerging Challenge: Global Distribution of Income and Economic Opportunity."
    - Lester Brown and Erik Eckholm, "Next Steps Toward Global Food Security."
    - Mildred Weiss, "Statistical Annexes."
  - William I. Thompson, *At the Edge of History.*
  - Lester Brown, *World Without Borders.*

**Mon., January 12**
Lecture: Ethical Strategies for a Global Community: An Overview

**Tues., January 13**
Field trip to IBM, Essex Junction. Leave: 8:30 a.m. from McCullough Gym. Return: 2:00 p.m.

**Wed., January 14 & Thurs., January 15**
Group Project Meetings

**Fri., January 16**
Weekly Review. Presentation of "The Individual and the Collectivity"—a dramatized debate starring: Friedrich Ubermann, a Nazi propagandist; Hajji Abu Bakr Hassan Ibn-Sabah Al-Kajjal, A Pan-Islamic diplomat; K'a Fu-yueh, a Chinese Communist party cadre; and John Cabot Stanton, an American liberal democrat intellectual.

## WEEK 3. EVIRONMENTAL ETHICS AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:
- Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle.*
- Barry Commoner, "The Energy Outlook and Global Interdependence."
- Richard England and Barry Bluestone, "Ecology and Social Conflict," in Daly, ed.
- Paul Ehrlich and John Holdren, "Impact of Population Growth," in Daly, ed.

Recommended Readings:
Nicholas Georgescu-Rogen, "The Entropy Law and the Economic Problem," in Daly, ed.
Herman E. Daly, "The Steady-State Economy: Toward a Political Economy of Biophysical Equilibrium and Moral Growth," in Daly, ed.

**Mon., January 19**
Lecture: Development of the Environmentalist Ethic.

**Tues., January 20**
Videotape and Discussion with Prof. William Catton on Richard Falk, Windham College. Lecture: "Environmental Behavior and Social Institutions."

**Wed., January 21 & Thurs., January 22**
Group Project Meetings

**Fri., January 23**
Weekly Review (Group Project presentations to be arranged.)

### WEEK 4. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:
E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful.*
Murray Bookchin, "Towards a Liberating Technology," *Post-Scarcity Anarchism.*
Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in Daly, ed.
Robert Heilbroner, "Reflections on the Future of Socialism," *Between Capitalism and Socialism.*
Robert Heilbroner, "Second Thoughts on the Human Prospect."
William I. Thompson, "Lindesfarne: A Planetary Community," *The Futurist,* February 1975.
Recommended Readings:
Richard Wilkinson, *Poverty and Progress.*
Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice.*
William Ophuls, "Leviathan or Oblivion?" in Daly, ed.

**Mon., January 26**
Lecture: Social Organization: Interdependence or Self-Sufficiency?

**Tues., January 27**
Discussion of E.F. Schumacher's Middlebury lecture and William Thompson's Cathedral lecture. Note: These are both available on cassette tapes at Sunderland Language Center. Please find the time (about two hours) to listen to both these tapes before the Tuesday morning discussion.

**Wed., January 28 & Thurs., January 29**
Group Project Meetings

**Thurs., January 29, 7:30**
*Special College Symposium:* "A Dialogue on Ethical Strategies for a Global Community" with Richard A. Falk, Alfred G. Milbank, Professor of International Law and Practice at Princeton University and member of the World Order Models Project, Institute for World Order, and William I. Thompson, author of *Passages About Earth, At the Edge of History,* and founder of the Lindesfarne Association.

**Friday, January 30**
Weekly Review.

### WEEK 5. INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:
Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom.*
Leon Kass, "The New Biology: What Price Relieving Man's Estate?"

John Gurley, "Maoist Economic Development: The New Man in the New China?"
John Cobb, "Ecology, Ethics, and Theology," in Daly, ed.
C.S. Lewis, "The Abolition of Man," in Daly, ed.
Recommended Readings:
*Global Justice and Development: Report of the Aspen Interreligious Consultation.* (Note: See especially the essay by Denis Goulet, "Ethical Strategies in the Struggle for World Development.")
Christopher Stone, "Should Trees Have Standing?"

**Mon., February 2**
Lecture: Human Nature and Social Structure (One-page paper topic proposals due)

**Tues., February 3 & Wed., February 4**
Weekly Review

**Thurs., 7:30**
*Special College Symposium:* "Alternatives to the Materialist Ethic" with Steven Rockefeller, Department of Religion; Pardon Tillinghast, Department of History; John Elder, Department of English; Andy Reding, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Moderator: David Rosenberg, Department of Political Science.

**Mon., February 9**
Final Papers due.

## GROUP PROJECTS

The *spirit* of this part of the course is well described by this passage from Robert Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance:*

Phaedrus gave an assignment on "What is quality in thought and statement?" In the first class meeting after he gave the assignment, the atmosphere was explosive. Almost everyone seemed as frustrated and angered as he had been by the question.

"How are *we* supposed to know what quality is?" they said. "You're supposed to tell *us*!"

Then he told them he couldn't figure it out either and really wanted to know. He had assigned it in the hope that somebody would come up with a good answer.

That ignited it. A roar of indignation shook the room. Before the commotion had settled down another teacher had stuck his head in the door to see what the trouble was.

"That's all right," Phaedrus said. "We just accidentally stumbled over a genuine question, and the shock is hard to recover from." Some students looked curious at this, and the noise simmered down.

He then used the occasion for a short return to his theme of "Corruption and Decay in the Church of Reason." It was a measure of this corruption, he said, that students should be outraged by someone trying to *use* them to seek the truth, to *imitate* it. To actually *search* for it was a damned imposition.

The truth was, he said, that he genuinely did want to know what they thought, not so that he could put a grade on it, but because he really wanted to know.

They looked puzzled.

"I sat there all night long," one said.

"I was ready to cry, I was so mad," a girl next to the window said.

"You should warn us," a third said.

*Be warned.*

*Be warned.*

**A Suggested List of Group Projects.** (Repeat: SUGGESTED only)
Everybody in the course is expected to take part in a group project of one kind or another. The projects may take virtually any form or may be expressed in any medium that the group decides. Trust your impulses and do something original, creative, relevant to the course theme, and informative for the rest of us. The course staff will be available

for questions and resources, but will not initiate or direct these projects; that's your responsibility.

The projects may range from short, written, or oral reports of a weekly discussion group to a single, multi-media presentation. Here are a few suggestions (these are *only* suggestions) to stimulate your efforts.

Prepare a report, dramatization, role playing, simulation, skit, reading, exhibit, survey, etc. on any of the following.

1. Calculate how much energy you consume in an average day's activity.

2. List the goods and services which you use in an average day. Of these, how many were not in general use 50 years ago? 100 years ago? How widespread are these goods or services in use in other countries?

3. Take a major consumer or personal item which is commonly used in your everyday life and try to find the following: Where did the raw materials and labor come from to produce this item? How much "value" was added to the item at each step of its manufacture? Compare the lives of those who produce this item with the lives of those who "consume" it.

4. Consult a few dictionaries and encyclopedias and write a short essay on the etymology (the history of meanings) of any of the following words: industry, efficiency, modern, development, progress, etc.

5. Make a collection and present an audio-visual essay on the motivational content of deodorant advertisements (or automobile advertisements or beer advertisements or anything else of this genre). Note: Jim Dodge, head of audio-visual services in Sunderland will be willing to help all serious investigators on this type of multi-media project.

6. Make a visual presentation or display of current corporate slogans, *e.g.*:
   Coke: "It's the Real Thing"
   DuPont: "Better Things for Better Living Through Chemistry"
   Buick: "Something to Believe In"
   Texaco: "Working to Keep Your Trust"
   New York Life: "We Guarantee Tomorrow Today"
   Union Carbide: "Today, Something We Do Will Touch Your Life"

7. Do something similar to the above on the theme of the Bicentennial.

8. Do a reading, prose or poetry, relating to the course theme.

9 During the winter term, there is going to be a video series showing of J. Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man*, which presents the perspective of "scientific humanism" on the global community. Follow the series and share some of its insights with the rest of us.

10. Draft a "Declaration of Interdependence."

11. The Middlebury Co-op has expanded considerably in the past few years and is now experiencing some "growing pains." Write a news story on its origins and development, as a case study of "Small is Beautiful."

12. *Internships*.

The National Student Association (NSA) in Washington, D.C. is willing to place three to five middlebury College students in short (one or two week) intern programs. Right now, NSA itself needs help in compiling and completing two of their own surveys: one is on college responses to the world food crisis; the other is on a survey of college dining service practices.

They are also running a "January Program" from January 10 to 16 and have invited us to send a delegate. The theme is "Global Studies in American Colleges."

NSA will also organize short internships with other organizations: Population Institute, Institute for World Order, Bread for the World, UNICEF, Children's Foundation, and others.

The basic purpose of these internships is to give students a quick look at what these organizations are like, with the hope that they will pursue longer internships or post-graduate jobs. See Prof. Rosenberg if you're interested in any of these.

13. There are a lot of things going on in Vermont that are relevant to this course. For example, Enertech, Inc., located over in Norwich, designs and manufactures decentralized energy systems, especially wind-powered generators. They would be delighted to tell you what they're doing. Then, tell the rest of us.

14. What are the prospects for increased energy self-sufficiency (or food self-sufficiency) for Vermont or Northern New England? There has been a lot of talk about this in recent times; what's happening?

15. A log of colleges have "ecology houses" and other such things, usually organized around residential units. What are the prospects for doing something like that here at Middlebury College?

16. Write the front page of the *Middlebury Campus*, January 2001 (or any other year you prefer).

17. Analyze the concepts of global justice. How has it been defined? What does it imply?

Again, these are only suggstions. Your group should brainstorm your own bright ideas.

# Transitional Societies

**Paul Wehr** Fall 1979

Sociology 362 / University of Colorado / Boulder, CO 80309

**TEXTS (all soft cover)**

E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (NY: Harper & Row, 1973).

Mesarovic & Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point* (NY: Dutton, 1974).

Eckholm & Brown, *Spreading Deserts: The Hand of Man* (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Paper, Worldwatch Institute, 1977).

Susan George, *Feeding the Few* (Washington, DC: Institute for Policy Studies, 1979).

Denis Hayes, *Energy for Development: Third World Options* (Worldwatch Paper, 1977).

Bruce Stokes, *Local Solutions to Global Problems* (Worldwatch Paper).

Colin Norman, *Soft Technologies, Hard Choices* (Worldwatch Paper, 1978)

## I. SOCIETIES IN TRANSITION

**Sep. 6 Introductory Session**

**Sep. 11 Growth and Interdependence**

Mesarovic & Pestel: Ch. 1, "Prologue: From Undifferentiated to Organic Growth"; Ch. 2, "Nature of Global Crises"; Ch. 3, "Emerging World System".

Schumacher: Ch. 1, "The Problem of Production"; Ch. 2, "Peace and Permanence".

**Sep. 13 Resources I**

Mesarovic & Pestel: Ch. 7, "Tug of War for Scarce Resources"; Ch. 8, "Limits to Independence".

**Sep. 18 Resources II**

Schumacher: II/Ch. 2, "The Proper Use of Land"; II/Ch. 3, "Resources for Industry".

**Sep. 20 Population**

Film: "Tragedy of the Commons"

Mesarovic & Pestel: Ch. 5, "Too Little, Too Late"; Ch. 6, "Deadly Delays".

**Sep. 25 Climate**

Guest: Michael Glantz, National Center for Atmospheric Research

Eckholm & Brown. All.

*TERM PROJECT PROPOSALS DUE*

## II. DEPENDENCY AND INTERDEPENDENCE

**Sep. 27 Worlds Within a World**

Galtung "A Structural Theory of Imperialism" in Richard Falk and Sam Kim, eds., *The War System* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980), 402-455.

**Oct. 2 Colonial Structures**

Slide Show: "Algeria's Colonial Legacy"

**Oct. 4 Multinational Enterprises**

Videotape: "The Modern Corporation"

Richard Barnet & Ronald Muller, *Global Reach* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1972), Ch. 1, "The World Managers"; Ch. 2, "From Globaloney to the Global Shopping Center".

**Oct. 9 Student Research Panel I**

**Oct. 11 Food**

George, *Feeding the Few.*

**Oct. 16 Review Session**

**Oct. 18 Student Research Panel II**

**Oct. 23 Raw Materials/Energy**
Hayes, *All*

**Oct. 25 Technology & Capital**
Film: "Multinational Business and Your Job"
Barnet & Muller, Ch. 7, "Engines of Development?"

**Oct. 30 Student Research Panel III**

## III. ALTERNATIVE TECHNOLOGIES AND LIFE STYLES

**Nov. 1 Meeting Basic Needs**
Film: "Barefoot Doctors of China"
Stokes, *All*

**Nov. 7 Alternative Development Models**
Fadaka, "Development: The Third Way"

**Nov. 8 Review Session**

**Nov. 13 Appropriate Technology I**
Schumacher, II/Ch. 5, "Technology with a Human Face"; III/Ch. 1, "Development"; Ch. 2, "Social & Economic Problems"; Ch. 3, "Two Million Villages".

**Nov. 15 Student Research Panel IV**
INTEGRATIVE ESSAY ASSIGNED

**Nov. 20 Appropriate Technology II**
Norman, *All*

**Nov. 27 Appropriate Life Styles I**
Shippee: Chs. 2, 3

**Nov. 29 Appropriate Life Styles II**
Energy Score Card

**Dec. 4 Appropriate Life Styles III**
Nelkin, "The Politics of Participation"

**Dec. 6 Interdependence and Self-Sufficiency**
Mesarovic & Pestel: Ch. 11, "Epilogue"
INTEGRATIVE ESSAY DUE

**Dec. 11 Student Research Panel V**

**Dec. 13 Final Review & Course Evaluation**

# Evolution of Social Change Strategies

**Paul Bernstein** Fall 1980
Asst. Instr. Corinne McLaughlin / Gordon Davidson
Sociology 192 / Boston College / Boston, MA 02167

## PURPOSE

1. To give students an opportunity to see the present days in a broader span of social evolution.

2. To help them feel connected to the processes of social change by identifying their own *values*, by identifying *changes* they would like to see happen in their own lives and in society around them, and by formulating their own *strategies* to make the changes they want.

3. To encourage students by examples of others who have made and are making significant change.

## STRUCTURE/METHODOLOGY

Fourteen weeks (one semester) of two sessions per week. Readings each week with 1-3 study questions help students prepare for the class sessions. The longer session (2 hrs.) consists of an experiential exercise followed by reflective discussion, and/or discussion of the readings in small groups (pairs, threes) as well as the full group (20 persons). The short session (50 min.) focusses on the readings or study questions. Sometimes a slide show or short film is used. Two special projects are also assigned in order to engage students outside of class. These are described in detail later.

One or two parties/field trips are also experienced during the term, to bring the students closer together, and to have them see an actual example of social change: an alternative community.

### WEEK 1. INTRODUCTIONS & OVERVIEW

a. Introductions by each student and instructor.

b. Reflections Exercise: how can you take responsibility for your own needs and for meeting your goals in this class?

c. How social change affects you now: small group discussions.

### WEEK 2. SOCIAL CHANGE IN GENERAL

a. Daily events: social practice: and underlying values, attitudes, beliefs or assumptions about human nature.

b. Exercise in Prioritizing our personal values.

### WEEK 3. BUILDING COMMUNITY

a. 19th century and 20th century experiences: designing YOUR ideal community.

b. Exercise in designing your own ideal community (see below).
Rosabeth Kanter, *Commitment and Community*, Ch. 1, pp. 1-8, Chs. 3, 5.

### WEEK 4. NEW COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA

Slide show on alternative New Age communities in the U.S.
Simple Living Collective/American Friends Service Committee, *Taking Charge*, Ch. 5.

### WEEK 5. TRANSFORMING SOCIETY

The 19th century reaction to industrialization—the Socialist critique.
C. Wright Mills, *The Marxists: A Primer*, Ch. 7.

Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, *The Power of the People*, Chs. 3, 9.
"Class Struggle" Boardgame.

**WEEK 6. THE SOCIALIST VISION UP-DATED**
a. Can socialism include democracy and liberty?—the attempt in Czechoslovakia, 1968.
Paul Bernstein, "Causes and Significance of the Czechoslovak Spring".

b. Short Czechoslovak film "The Hand" (a political allegory), and discussion of educational value of culture.

**WEEK 7. ALTERNATIVE VISIONS OF SOCIETY**
Students present their analyses and responses to the utopian novel.

**WEEK 8. MODERN TRENDS & FUTURE NEEDS**
a. Contemporary crises in work, economics, control, etc.
Willis Harman, *An Incomplete Guide to the Future*, Chs. 2-6.

b. Exercise in Old/New Values—Male & Female Role Stereotypes.

c. Exercise on Old/New Values—Separateness vs. Unity.

**WEEK 9. MODERN TRENDS & FUTURE NEEDS: THE EMERGING NEW TRANSCENDENTALISM**
a. New images of humankind; the "paradigm shift"; "New Age" values.

b. Discussion on value shifts and paradigm shifts and how they relate to students' personal lives.
Willis Harman, Chs. 7, 8.
Mark Satin, *New Age Politics* (NY: Dell Books, 1980).

**WEEK 10. PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF PRESENT TRENDS & OPTIONS FOR RESPONDING TO THEM**
a. Changes in your lifestyle that are possible; joining with others to make social change.

b. Students present an exercise from the chapter they've chosen from *Taking Charge*.
Simple Living Collective/A.F.S.C., *Taking Charge*, Ch. 1 and choose one other chapter from Chs. 4, 6-14.

**WEEK 11. FINDHORN & SIRIUS**
a. Examples of living according to the "New Age" values; experiences in group process; co-operation.

b. Slide shows on Findhorn & Sirius communities.

c. Evening visit to Haley House—a social-action student community at Boston College.
Rosabeth Kanter, Chs. 7, 8.

**WEEK 12. CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMICS**
a. The economic crisis at Boston College, and an experiment in designing co-operative alternatives.
Bruce Stokes, *Worker Participation* (Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute Paper #25), pp. 37-42.

b. Simulation exercise on tuition raises, food service and housing fee raises at Boston College campus; and alternative, cooperative economy for that university.

**WEEK 13. MAKING NON-VIOLENT CHANGE ON A LARGE SCALE**
a. The anti-nuclear movement as one example.

b. Importance of mass media.

c. Guest lecture by participant in anti-nuclear movement.
Staughton Lynd, *Documentary History of Non-violence in America*, Introduction;

or Cooney and Michalowski, choose one chapter from Chs. 1, 2, 4, 7, 10.

### WEEK 14. AMERICA—A LOOK INTO THE 1980's

Presenting your strategy projects.

"Predictions for the 1980's", *New Age Journal*, (Aug. 1979).

## PROJECTS

### A. Exercise on the Society Envisioned in a Novel

For the first seven weeks students will read a utopian novel of their choice (from a list of six) and analyze the society set forth therein—its implied view of human nature, its structure, and its warnings to our time. Also, how would they, the student reader, feel personally about living there? This prepares the student to analyze our own society in the same way: its values, structure, and daily life.

1. Select 1 of the following 6 novels: (others are acceptable with the instructor's permission).
   B.F. Skinner, *Walden Two;* Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*, or *Island;* George Orwell, *1984*; Ursula LeGuinn, *The Dispossessed;* or Ernst Cullenbach, *Ecotopia.*
2. Identify the BASIC BELIEFS which underlie the society being pictured in that novel.
   a. Beliefs about human nature: (1-2 pages)
      1) people have the capacity to learn (can become "better")
      2) people have definite limitations (they need to be controlled)
      3) are humans viewed as basically good or basically evil? (Substantiate your assessment with examples from the book.)
   b. Beliefs about society: (1-2 pages)
      1) which problems are inevitable?
      2) which problems are solvable?
      3) how is conflict officially viewed?
3. Identify the SOCIAL PRACTICE in the society being pictured: (3-4 pages)
   a. physical setting and technology
   b. work and money
   c. decision-making (political system)
   d. intimate relationships (family; sex)
   e. education (cultural media; advertising)
   f. individual freedom
   Why are the social practices this way? What is the author's reason for having them this way? (One way to answer this is to look for the BENEFITS to the individual each practice creates, or for the BENEFITS to society each practice creates. Pay attention to the BENEFITS to the RULERS that each practice creates.)
4. What "DAILY EVENTS" in this society lead to OUTCRIES, that is to PROTESTS (or at least feelings of protest) and, in some cases, to REFORMS. Or has the author left out all evidence of such feelings of discontent; if so, *you must speculate* on what kinds of discontent are *most likely* in this society. (1-2 pages)
5. How does this society handle the question of OTHER SOCIETIES in their environment? Does this society have successful mechanisms that allow it to survive the potential opposition or competition from other societies? (1-2 pages)
6. Concluding evaluation
   a. Which *basic human needs* are taken care of in this society, and which are not taken care of? (In answering this question picture yourself living there: what would dissatisfy *you* and what would you like? Go beyond your personal preferences, also consider general population needs." (2-3 pages)

b. What COSTS are exacted by the way of life in this society? (Personal stresses, limitations on freedom, environmental degredation, shortened life span...?) (1 page)

7. TOTAL LENGTH ESTIMATE: 10-16 pages. (Grade does not depend on LENGTH, but on QUALITY OF INSIGHT, CLARITY OF EXPRESSION, etc.)

**B. Final Project: American Life Today and the Need for Change**

The second project asks each student to select an area of social life they feel needs to change; to propose a change; to develop a strategy to bring about that change; to identify possible allies for, and resistances to, such a change; and to think of ways to go beyond those resistances.

1. a. Pick an area of American life today where you feel there is need for change. Describe the problem in your own words; why it is important *to you.*

   b. Areas chosen by previous students included: energy, the elderly, university education, worklife quality, corporate social responsibility, women's image in the media, labor union organizing, neighborhood associations, care for the disabled, violence in the streets.

   c. Propose the solution you would like to see happen. State its benefits and costs.

2. a. Design a strategy for bringing about that solution. What *steps* do you think would be the most effective to create your desired change?

   b. Pay attention to the issues of "ends & means": do your ends justify your means? Also, pay attention to the *consequences* for the persons (including yourself) who would be making the change.

   c. Your strategy might involve:
      i) changing people's *attitudes* through education or the media (and that would lead them to change their social practice).
      ii) setting up an *alternative example*, such as a holistic health clinic or a recycling center (this is a new social practice).
      iii) joining a public interest *lobbying group* or some *social movement* that is trying to change corporations' behavior or that is trying to create new legislation by the government.

3. Contact some person or organization that is involved in your strategy already (many sources are listed in *New Age Politics* by Satin; and *Taking Charge).* Find out what is already being done and how realistically you could accomplish your goal.

4. Next, take a *critical stance* on the strategy you've proposed. Look into the future a bit and anticipate which elements of society or interest groups might resist or misunderstand the changes you wish to bring about. Who would you appeal to, and how would you go about it, to get beyond that resistance or misunderstanding? Allies?

5. In grading your paper, YOUR ORIGINAL THINKING & FEELINGS will be our highest concern, not how well you borrow someone else's ideas. You should EVALUATE current society, evaluate the strategy you are proposing, and evaluate the forces for and against it. APPLY YOUR OWN CRITICAL THINKING TO FASHION THE STRATEGY and to assess its chances for success.

6. Total length estimate: 12-15 pages.

# Women, Society & Change

**Elise Boulding** Fall 1979
Sociology 16 / Dartmouth College / Hanover, NH 03755

## TEXTS AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE

Elise Boulding, *Underside of History* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1976).
Jean Lipman-Blumen and Jesse Bernard, *Sex Roles and Social Policy* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979).

Assortment of science fiction books by women writers at bookstore, including: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ursula LeGuin, Joanna Russ, Marge Piercy, Virginia Kidd, and others.

The course will be divided into three parts, with a paper due at the end of each part, 10-15 pages in length. There will be no exams.

## PART I. WOMEN'S ROOTS IN HISTORY

**Sep. 18-25 Pre-urban Society and Women's Culture**
*Underside of History*, Chs. 1-5.
Optional:
McDonough and Harrison, "Patriarchy and Relations of Production" in *Feminism and Materialism* by Annette Kuhn & Annmarie Wolpe (Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1978).
Annette Kuhn, "Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family" in *Feminism and Materialism.*
Frederick Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (NY: Pathfinder Press, 1972).

**Sep. 18-25**
Sacks, "Engels Revisited" in Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1974).
Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History* (NY: Random House, 1976).
M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, *Female of the Species* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1974).

**Sep. 27**
*Underside of History*, Chs. 6-7.
The Settlers and the Nomads.
Readings in the history of lesbian women's culture – Will class members please help me develop a reading list for this?

**Oct. 2 The Women's Movement of the Middle Ages**
*Underside of History*, Ch. 9.

**Oct. 4 Impact of 19th Century Modernization on Women in the West**
*Underside of History*, Ch. 11.
Optional:
Rowbotham, *Hidden from History.*

**Paper due Oct. 4, autobiographical:**
Your roots in the women's culture of your own family. How have you been shaped by the women's culture of your family, as experienced in your immediate household, and in contact with your aunts, cousins and, if appropriate, close family friends who are women? Go back as many generations as you can in exploring this culture, to your maternal and paternal grandmothers and great aunts and further if possible. Include

description of ethnic, racial, and religious subcultures represented, and describe the lifestyles each woman lived, the values and prescriptions regarding women's roles and aspirations they passed on, explicitly or implicitly, to other women in the family and to you. To what extent was lesbian awareness a part of that culture? For the men in the class, the paper should be written in terms of how that women's culture shaped and socialized you as a person, what expectations were laid on you as a man by women, what behavioral training you received from women, including training in "manliness".

## PART II. GOALS, STRATEGIES AND INDICATORS OF CHANGE IN THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

**Oct. 7 Overview of Data on Women's Status Today**

Optional:
Newland, *Sisterhood of Man.*
E. Boulding, *Handbook of International Data on Women,* a reference book, (NY: Halsted, 1976).
A variety of contemporary women's periodicals including newsletters and journals is available in my office for perusal.

**Oct. 9 Materialist, Structural-functionalist and Other Theories about the Position of Women in Society**

Optional:
Kuhn & Wolpe, *Feminism and Materialism.*
Sokoloff, *Women and Work: A Critique of Theories in Sociology, Marxism and Feminism.*
Rosaldo and Lamphere, *Women, Culture and Society.*
Hartman, *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism.*

Class suggestions for reading in feminist theory from the lesbian perspective welcomed.

**Oct. 11 Relevance of Research for Social Policy**

Lipman-Blumen & Bernard, Part I

**Oct. 16 Uses of Policy**

Lipman-Blumen & Bernard, Part II

**Oct. 18 Women as Change Agents**

Lipman-Blumen & Bernard, Part III

**Oct. 23-25 Worldwide Development Issues for Women**

Optional:
Rihani, *Development as if Women Mattered.*
Moen and Boulding, *Women and Energy Development.*
Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (NY: St. Martin's, 1974).
Danber & Cain, *Women and Technology.*
Perdita Huston, *Message from the Village* (NY: Unipub, 1979).
Elise Boulding, *Women in the Twentieth Century World* (NY: Halstead, 1977), Chs. on Women's NGO's, Women and Peace, Women and the World Food System.
*Migrant Women Speak.*
Wellesley Editorial Committee, *Women and National Development* (Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978).

**Paper due Oct. 25:**

This paper may be based on the material in Part I or Part II. If you choose Part I, the following is suggested: Focus on rural, urban or nomad women in the period of your preference. Discuss the interaction of the physical environment, political and economic structures, religious and cultural beliefs and practices and family structures in determining women's roles at the time you are looking at. You do not need to deal with all those factors: choose the ones that seem to you most important according to the theory you want to use; this may be an existing sociological theory or one you develop yourself. If you choose Part II, develop a policy paper for the upcoming Mid-Decade Conference to be held in July in Copenhagen by the UN International Women's Decade Secretariat to evaluate progress made by women since the 1975 International Women's Year Conference. If you prefer, you may address your paper to the Women's Affairs Division of the U.S. State Department, focussing on what should be happening to American women. In your policy paper include data describing the present conditions, develop a model of the social change process on which your proposed strategy is based, state the values and assumptions underlying the strategy, and make specific usable recommendations.

A third option is to work with the data bases to be found in Project IMPRESS, which included UN data for 1968-70 and some longitudinal U.S. data, to do a computer analysis of demographic, economic and sociocultural factors associated with a particular status for women in a particular country. Your policy recommendations could stem from such an analysis.

## PART III. ALTERNATIVE FUTURE SOCIETIES

**Oct. 28 Science versus Fantasy**
Lipman-Blumen & Bernard, Part IV.
Issue of *Frontiers*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1977.

**Oct. 30 How Women Vision**
*Frontiers* readings.

**Nov. 1,6,8 NO CLASS**
**Nov. 13-20**
Discuss science fiction novels you are reading, prepare skits for class portraying women's and men's roles in the "new society".

**Nov. 27**
Review of term's work, presentation of papers.

**Nov. 29 NO CLASS. Paper due.**

**December**
Exam period: Presentation of papers.

**Paper due Nov. 29:**

Design a society you would like to see in the twenty first century with special attention to women's and men's roles; it can be a local society or the paper can be written in world terms. You may use one of the science fiction books you have read as a point of departure, or make up your own from scratch. The envisioned future does not have to be in paper form. It may be a play; it may be done through dance or music, through the visual arts, or in other metaphoric forms.

# Social Change Strategy

**Paula Rayman** Spring 1979
Dept. of Sociology / Brandeis University / Waltham, MA 02154

### COURSE DESCRIPTION

An exploration of the theories, concepts and practices critical to social change strategy, with special focus on the comparison between nonviolent and violent modes of action. The literature will cover biographic works of those who have been involved in major social change efforts, including Gandhi, Fanon, Goldman, and Guevara.

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course will be conducted as a seminar with student participation an important requirement. In addition, there will be two written assignments:

(1) A book review focusing on one of the major autobiographies we will read. The review will be used as part of class presentations and handed in prior to spring vacation.

(2) A final paper (10-15 pages) on a central theme of the course to be handed in the final day of class.

### REQUIRED READINGS

David Dellinger, *More Power Than We know: The People's Move Toward Democracy* (NY: Anchor, 1975).
B. Deming, *Prison Notes* (NY: Grossman, 1966).
Emma Goldman (Drinnon's, ed.), *Nowhere at Home* (NY: Schocken Books, 1975).
Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (NY: MacMillan, 1962).
Che Guevara, *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1972).
Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*—3 parts (ed. by Marina Finkelstein), (Boston: Sargent Porter, 1974). Part I—Power & Struggle; Part II—Methods of Nonviolent Action; Part III—Dynamics of Nonviolent Action.
Agnes Smedley, *Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution* (SUNY at Old Westbury: Feminist Press, 1976).

### SUGGESTED READINGS

Daniel Guerin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1970).
Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (NY: Harcourt Brace, 1970).
William Hinton, *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (NY: Random House, 1968).
Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence* (NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1958).
Piven & Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (NY: Pantheon, 1977).
Huberman & Sweezy, *Introduction to Socialism* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1968).

### SYLLABUS

**Jan. 30 Introduction to Seminar Themes**

**Feb. 6 Nonviolence, Anarchism and Marxism: A Comparison**
Read:
Sharp
Sweezy—to be distributed
Chomsky—to be distributed

**Feb. 13 Theory and Practice of Nonviolence**
Read:
Sharp
Fisher

**Feb. 20 Nonviolence (continued)**
Read:
Fisher
Deming

**Feb. 27 Nonviolence (continued)**
Read:
Piven & Cloward

**Mar. 6 Anarchism: Historical Roots**
Read:
Goldman (Drinnon's, ed.)

**Mar. 13 Anarchism: Theory and Practice**
Read:
Goldman (Drinnon's, ed.)

**Mar. 27 Marxism: The Theoretical Premises**
Read:
Sweezy

**Apr. 3 Marxism: Theory and Practice**
Read:
Guevara

**Apr. 10 Marxism (continued)**
Read:
Guevara
Fanon—to be distributed
Deming—to be distributed
Book Reviews Due

**Apr. 24 Comparison of Two Change Strategies**
**I: China**
Read: Smedley

**May 1 II: Anti-War Movement**
Read: Dellinger

**May 3 Evaluation**

# I

# World Order Education: Teacher Training

Global Studies: A World Order Perspective
Lawrence Metcalf

Teaching for Global Awareness
David A. Shiman and David R. Conrad

Workshop in Curriculum Development: Educating for Peace
David R. Conrad

Educating for Justice
David A. Shiman

International Studies and the Community College Curriculum
Jack Nelson

# Global Studies: A World Order Perspective

**Lawrence Metcalf** Spring 1980
Secondary Education / University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign / Urbana, IL 61801

The world problems addressed in this course are war, poverty, racial oppression, environmental decay, and human rights. Each problem is treated as a global worldwide phenomenon. The course meets for eight weeks for a total of 32 hours.

**REQUIRED BOOKS**

Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures* (Leesburg, VA: World Priorities, 1980).
Helen Caldicott, *Nuclear Madness* (Brookline, MA: Autumn Press, 1979).
George Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*
Robert Johansen, *Toward a Dependable Peace: A Proposal for an Appropriate Security System* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978).
Barry Commoner, *The Politics of Energy.*

### Unit One: War and Its Prevention

1. Incidence of War
2. Causes of War
3. The Escalating Arms Race
4. The Arms Trade
5. Effects of War on Inflation, Resources and Environment, and on Employment, and the Opportunity Costs of War
6. War and Human Rights
7. Efforts to Control and Prevent War: Arms Control Treaties; Disarmament Proposals; The UN as a World Order Model

### Unit Two: Economic Development and the Welfare Problem

1. Economic Development
   How is it defined and measured; the deficiencies of GNP as a measure; the rich-poor nation gap; what is a developing nation; what is a developed nation.
2. Economic Welfare
   Relationship between development and welfare; how is a developing nation defined politically and economically; what relationship exists between rich and poor nations; the role of multinational corporations; the role of the UN; the Clark-Sohn proposal; the Arusha Declaration; Sakharov's proposal; the relationship of poverty to war; the idea of minimal worldwide income.

### Unit Three: Problems of the Environment

1. The Concept of Ecological Balance
   What is an ecosystem; pollution; population; how many people can earth support at what level of living?; energy and resources.
2. Two Threats: Nuclear War and Ecological Collapse
3. The Role of the UN
   Under existing charter; under charter as revised by Clark-Sohn; the oceans as a special problem; the ozone layer; nuclear power and nuclear weapons; chemical and biological warfare; weather, is it changing and can weather change be used as a weapon of war.

**Unit Four: Human Rights—The UN Declaration of Human Rights**

1. Racial Oppression
2. The Plight of Children
4. Political Imprisonment
5. The Work of Amnesty International
6. War Crimes: Nuremberg Trials & Principles
7. The Shimoda Case
8. Nuclear Weapons and the Laws of War

**Unit Five: Models of World Order, Global Transformation, and the Schools**

1. Models: UN Model; Clark-Sohn model; Hutchins model; Falk proposal; Borges' functionalism
2. The Schools and System Change

# Teaching for Global Awareness

**David A. Shiman, David R. Conrad** Spring 1980
Education 238 / University of Vermont / Burlington, VT 05401

This course is an outgrowth of our personal concerns about environmental deterioration, war, poverty, and social injustices throughout the world. It expresses our belief that we must view ourselves as citizens of the world and should help others develop a similar self-perception. It is neither practical nor justifiable to view problems elsewhere on the globe as "someone else's". The smallness and interrelatedness of our world make this approach unrealistic, and our personal morality makes it unacceptable.

The purpose of this course is to increase our awareness and understanding of these global problems, become more conscious of their personal and professional implications for us, and help develop more effective approaches for dealing with them.

We have chosen to focus on three interdependent values which we consider basic to survival and dignity of the human race. These are: ecological harmony, social and economic justice, and peace and prevention of war. While we offer these as core global values, we present no particular definitions for them. Instead, we hope each of us will struggle to operationalize these values so that they will become personally and professionally meaningful.

## GOALS

1. Students will become less ethnocentric as they become aware of their own cultural biases and the constraints these place on their understanding, appreciating, and communicating with other human beings;
2. Students will become conscious of problems dealing with peace and the prevention of war, global ecology, social justice, and economic inequality;
3. Students will learn about existing instructional materials and strategies available to teachers for raising the level of awareness and commitment of public school students;
4. Students will develop their own materials for use in classroom or other settings.

## FOCAL QUESTIONS

1. Are there some basic human questions that we must deal with?
2. How do these questions manifest themselves in the world?
3. What are our personal value positions on these questions? Why?
4. What do these positions mean in terms of our personal and professional behavior?
5. How do we translate our concerns into action?

## BOOKS TO PURCHASE

Lester R. Brown, *World Without Borders* (NY: Vintage Books, 1973).

Brian A. Wren, *Education for Justice* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1977).

Robert G. Hanvey, *An Attainable Global Perspective* (NY: Center for Global Perspectives, 1976).

David King et al, "Education for a World in Change: A Working Handbook for Global Perspectives", *Intercom*, Vol. 84/85, (NY: Center for Global Perspectives, 1976).

Jack R. Fraenkel, et al, *Peacekeeping* (NY: Random House, 1973).

AFSC Simple Living Collective, *Taking Charge: Achieving Personal and Political Change* (NY: Bantam Books, 1977).

## ASSIGNMENTS

1. Attendance is expected. Participation is essential.
2. Global Journal, containing global autobiography, weekly reflections, scrapbook items, and ideas for action.
3. Collage expressing global issues and concerns.
4. Curriculum Project.

## COURSE OUTLINE

**Jan. 17 Introduction/Administrivia**
Course Outline
Attitude Inventory
Film: "Voyage to Next"
Visit to Center for World Education

**Jan. 24 Global Issues**
Interdependence: Chocolate Bar
AFSC, 1-30
*Intercom*, 3-9
Hanvey, 1-28
Brown, 3-12

**Jan. 31 Curriculum Development:**
Vermont in World, World in Vermont
Global Issues: Developmental Sequences
Planning for Projects
Shiman/Conrad article
*Intercom*, 9-33, and lesson

**Feb. 7 Ecological Harmony-Overview**
Role Playing
Brown, 15-40
AFSC, 31-82, 221-264

**Feb. 14 Ecological Harmony-Focus on Hunger**
Filmstrip: "Hunger in Global Community"
Brown, 88-110
AFSC, 265-309,
"Triage"

**Feb. 21 Ecological Harmony: Curriculum**
Baldicer-Simulation Game
Project Planning
Brown, 113-131
AFSC, 127-147

**Feb. 28 Social and Economic Justice: Overview**
NIEO and MNC
AFSC, 311-332
Brown, 41-87, 183-255

**Mar. 6 Social and Economic Justice: Power and Discrimination**
Case Study: South Africa
Wren, 1-42, 56-118

**Mar. 13 Social and Economic Justice: Curriculum Collage**
Prejudice/Discrimination Activities
Project Planning
"Universal Declaration of Human Rights"

**Mar. 20 Peace and Prevention of War**
Global Conflict Map
Slides: The Meaning of Hiroshima
Xeroxed materials

**Mar. 27 Peace and Prevention**
Slides: Race Nobody Wins
Exploring Peacekeeping Models
Peacekeeping

**Apr. 3 Vacation**

**Apr. 10 Peace and Prevention of War: Curriculum**
Assorted Classroom Activities
Project Time

**Apr. 17 Futures: Our and Others**
Brown, 321-384
AFSC, 333-343

**Apr. 24 Project Presentations**
Journals Due

**May 1 Project Presentations**
Projects Due

**May 8 Project Presentations, if needed**

# Workshop in Curriculum: Educating for Peace

**David R. Conrad**
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Summer 1978

The issue of peace and peaceful resolution of conflict has never been more important to educators than today. The arms race continues at a frantic pace; military budgets are ballooning; more and more nations have the capacity to make atomic weapons; and violence in the streets and in classrooms is increasing. What can be done about this spiralling violence, we may ask? Why is the world so unpeaceful? Why do people and nations seem to hate each other? How can we understand these problems in greater depth and help our students or clients deal with them in their own lives? As educators, what can we do both personally and professionally to become active creators of peace? These are some of the questions we will explore in this course.

My hope is that your own awareness of peace-related issues will be heightened during these two weeks and that you will also develop approaches and strategies for practical application in your professional situation. We will examine key concepts like structural/institutional violence; conflict and conflict resolution; nonviolent action strategies like protest, noncooperation and intervention; aggression and human nature; and cooperative self-reliance as a step toward peace. Links will be made between local and global issues, between individual actions and world problems. Value and belief clarification will be a major part of the workshop.

The course will consist of readings, slide programs, a film, role playing, special guests, value strategies and a great deal of discussion. You will be asked to work on a project which can be utilized later in your professional work, as well as on a presentation focusing around the theme, "A Community of Peace." Throughout the course we will look for implications in the reading and other activities for educational practice.

## REQUIREMENTS

1. Please complete each reading assignment in preparation for class discussion. We will use the following books:
   Barbara Stanford, ed., *Peacemaking* (NY: Bantam, 1976).
   William Nesbit et al, eds., *Teaching Youth About Conflict and War* (NY: State Education Dept., 1974).
   Gerald and Patricia Mische, *Toward a Human World Order* (NY: Paulist Press, 1978).
   Jack R. Fraenkel et al, eds., *Peacekeeping* (NY: Random House, 1973).
2. Attend class regularly and participate actively in class discussions and activities.
3. Work on a peace-related project (which might be a curriculum unit) and present the results of your work to the whole group on the last day of class. Your project should involve research and use of materials in the Center for World Education and other places. The project should be written up and copies of it distributed to members of the class. An annotated bibliography of materials used should be included.

4. Work on one dimension of a class project centering upon the building of a "Community of Peace." What would be the features or characteristics of a community committed to peace, we will ask? We will plan and "build" our peace community on Saturday, July 8.

## SCHEDULE

**July 3 Introduction to the course.**
Overview and discussion of the concepts of peace and peace education, institutional violence, interdependence, creative conflict, conflict resolution, etc. Introduction to Center for World Education.
Slide Program: "Creating the Future: Introduction to Peace Education"

**July 4 Holiday**

**July 5 Methods of resolving conflicts:**
negotiation, differences in perception, nonviolent direct action, behavior modification.
Reading: *Peacemaking*, pp. 7-139.
Film: "Martin Luther King, Jr.: From Montgomery to Memphis"

**July 6 Coping with aggression.**
Violence in schools and society. Prejudice toward others.
Reading: *Peacemaking*, pp. 143-253.
Filmstrip: "Patterns of Human Conflict"

**July 7 Institutional/structural violence.**
Economic imperialism. Uses of force. The UN as peacemaker.
Reading: *Peacemaking*, pp. 254-405.
Filmstrip: "Gandhi As Peacemaker"

**July 8 World peace through world law:**
International peace-keeping. Personal action. "A Community of Peace — A School of Peace".
Reading: *Peacemaking*, pp. 409-500.

**July 10 The New International Economic Order.**
Global military expenditures. Cooperative Self-Reliance. Role of education.
Guests: David McCauley and Jim Phillips, representing the Earth Bridge Community Land Trust and the American Friends Service Committee.

**July 11 Powerlessness and human nature.**
The national security straitjacket. Dealing with nuclear weaponry and nuclear power in educational settings.
Readings: *Human World Order*, pp. 1-169.
Slide Program: "A-Bomb Survivors Try to Recollect Their Experience".

**July 12 World order models.**
Model systems and scenarios of the past and future: curriculum implications.
Reading: *Peacekeeping* , pp. 1-90.
Scenario: Testing four different models.

**July 13 Liberation for being.**
Human/religious values and an ethical lag. Conceptions of a different world order.
Reading: *Human World Order*, pp. 170-276.

**July 14 Strategies for a just world order.**
Building educational and professional networks for peace.
Reading: *Human World Order*, pp. 277-361.
Project Presentations.

# Educating for Justice

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Almost every issue touching our lives has a justice dimension to it. To decide on what to include in this two-week experience, i.e., to identify those themes that most directly relate to both the personal and professional life of educators, has been very difficult indeed.

Paolo Freire, author of *Pedagogy the Oppressed*, talks about moving the masses from a semi-intransitive state through a naive transitive one and finally into a state of critical consciousness. He contends that "only beings who can reflect upon the fact that they are determined are capable of freeing themselves." The themes of poverty, power, racism, and human rights selected for study in this course are central to any examination of oppression and injustice. Through our dialogue, I hope we can develop a deeper understanding of the issues and identify paths for personal and professional action.

## COURSE GOALS:

Greater awareness of justice-related issues in the world. Clearer understanding of different definitions of justice. Reflection on our own and other's behavior in terms of our meaning of the concept of justice. Creation of learning vehicles to help students grapple with justice-related issues. Identification of areas for personal and professional change in light of our reflection on the question of justice.

## BOOKS TO PURCHASE:

Brian Wren, *Education for Justice* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1977).

Miriam Wolf-Wasserman and Linda Hutchinson, *Teaching Human Dignity: Social Change Lessons for Everyteacher* (Minneapolis, MN: Education Exploration Center, 1978).

## ASSIGNMENTS:

1. Attendance and participation.
2. Daily reading of a newspaper.
3. Mini-curriculum development activities as assigned in class.
4. "Justice Log".
5. Project: Creation of something that you can use with students to enhance their understanding and concern about a justice related issue. This might be a curriculum unit, a series of lessons, a simulation game, etc. This will be shared with the class at the final session and submitted to me.

## COURSE OUTLINE

**July 2 Introduction**

Towards a definition of justice
Explanations of injustice in the world
Justice goals for the classroom/school
Student understandings and behavior
Nature of the school itself, structures, policies
Activities:
    Newspaper Articles
    Photographs — "The Deprived"

**July 3 Towards a definition of justice**

- Activities: Cartoon
- Activities:
  - Oil Crisis
  - DAS' Frame of Reference
  - Film: "Attica"
- Initial Discussion of Student Projects
- Reading:
  - Susan Gowan, et al, *Moving Toward a New Society* (Philadelphia: Movement for a New Society, 1978), pp. 108-145.
  - *Human Dignity,* pp. 1-7, 183-191, 209-212.

**July 4 Independence (for some) Day**

**July 5 Justice in the Classroom/School**

- Activities:
  - Creating an Ideal Classroom
  - Filmstrip: "From Racism to Pluralism"
- Reading:
  - Wren, pp. 1-29.
  - DAS' Self-Evaluation
  - Kozol excerpt
  - *Human Dignity,* pp. 248-260, 29-32, 36-46, 95-99, 104-108.

**July 6 Teaching about Justice:**
Focus on Poverty and Power

- Activities:
  - Analyzing Priorities
  - Auction
  - Visionaries Checklist
  - Givens and Changeables
- Reading:
  - Wren, pp. 31-79
  - Barnet article
  - *Human Dignity,* pp. 124-131, 134-150.
  - Poverty readings

**July 9 Teaching about Justice:**
Focus on Racism

- Activities:
  - Film: "Eye of the Storm"
  - Filmstrip: "Institutional Racism"
  - Racial Autobiography
  - Filmstrip: "We are all Brothers"
  - Filmstrip: "Rabbit Brothers"
- Reading:
  - DAS: Experiencing Discrimination
  - DAS: Prejudice
  - DAS: Personal Contact Inventory

**July 10 Teaching about Justice:**
Focus on Rights

- Activities:
  - Sharing "Rights" curriculum ideas
  - Boat People
- Reading:
  - Bill of Rights
  - Rights of Children Universal Declaration...
  - "Boat People", Newsweek

**July 11 Teaching about Justice:**
**The World**
**Middle East or South Africa**
**Oil Crisis**

**July 12 TBA**

**July 13 Projects**
Statements of Action: Personal and Professional
Reading:
DAS: Applying Learning
Wren, pp. 79-126.

# International Studies and the Community College Curriculum

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Spring 1980

This course is especially designed to blend two interests: 1) general background in international, global or world studies, and 2) professional development in curriculum for community colleges. The intention is to provide some balance between substantive content and structural ideas for including international studies material in higher education programs.

The class begins with broad concepts and definitions, moves to a brief consideration of some major, exemplary global issues and concludes with an exploration of practical curriculum development ideas. The sequence identified in the course schedule is flexible, according to mutual interests which emerge in the course.

The course will operate as a seminar-workshop which expects class participation based on identified readings and related student background, as well as involvement in a curricular project in international studies.

## TEXTS

Thomas Buergenthal and Judith Torney, *International Human Rights and International Education* (U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, 1976).
J. & R. Moore, *War and War Prevention* (NY: Hayden, 1974, 1979).
Inst. for World Order, *Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide* (NY: Institute for World Order, 1978).
Burns Weston, *Global Interdependence and Human Survival* (Univ. of Iowa, 1976).
Charles Rivera and Kenneth Switzer, *Violence* (NY: Hayden, 1976).
Michael Piburn, *The Environment* (NY: Hayden, 1974).
Nelson, *Population and Progress* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977).
Nelson & Green, *International Human Rights* (NY: Coleman, 1980).

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Global Monitoring Indicator (see below).
2. One short (2-4 page double-spaced) critique of either:
   a) a current journal article in international studies; or
   b) teaching material (text, film tapes, etc.) for use in college course on international studies.
3. Paper. The course paper may be either:
   a) on a subject covered in the course; or
   b) a curriculum guide for use in a college course on global studies.

## SYLLABUS

**Jan. 22 Introduction —**
International and Global Education

**Jan. 29**
World Systems/Global Studies
Paper Topic Due
Indicator Selection Due
Buergenthal & Torney, Chs. 1, 2.
Weston, Ch. 1.

**Feb. 5**
12 Issues: War/War Prevention
Violence
Moore, Chs. 1-4.

**Feb. 19 Critique Due**
Moore, Chs. 5-10.
Rivera & Switzer, Chs. 2, 4, 5.

**Feb. 26 Environmental Stability**
Population and Food
Weston, Part II.
Piburn, Ch. 2.
Piburn, Chs. 1, 4, 5, 6.

**Mar. 11 Human Rights**
Buergenthal & Torney

**Mar. 18 Recess**

**Mar. 25 Human Rights**
Buergenthal & Torney, Chs. 5, 6, 7
Nelson & Green — Cases

**Apr. 1**

**Apr. 8 Global Education in Colleges**
Peace & W.O.S.

**Apr. 15 Cases**

**Apr. 22 Cases**
Global Indicator Due

**Apr. 29 Paper Due**

**May 6 Final Class**

## GLOBAL MONITORING INDICATORS

Each student is to identify a specific indicator that relates to the state of the globe.

Several values are related to life in a global society. Included among these are peace, human dignity, ecological balance, economic welfare, political participation and others. These are supportive of improvement in the general quality of life in the world.

Specific, observable acts that occur can be seen as indicators of whether or not we are moving closer to achievement of one or more global values, e.g., changes in the percentage of political prisoners held in selected countries without trial is an indicator of aspects of human dignity. We can't keep track of all, or even a majority of the possible indicators for any one value, and not all movement forward or backward can be measured by observable behaviors, but we can get a sense of that movement by plotting changes over time.

Your task is to select *one* indicator, follow it forward this semester or backward over recent history and report your findings at the end of the semester.

The report should identify the major value you select, the specific indicator, the time period observed, your sources of data, and your interpretation of any changes you discover.

By the second class session, please identify the indicator you have selected to monitor.

# III

# Resource Materials and Organizations

A. Books and Articles

B. Periodicals

C. Multimedia and Simulation Games

D. Peace and World Order Studies Program

E. Institutes and Organizations

# Books and Articles

The following is a very select list of books and articles deemed basic to a Peace and World Order Studies library. They have been chosen either because they are seminal in nature or because they suggest the type of literature that has been found useful to the world order approach. The materials included represent only a small portion of the growing body of literature now available to peace and world order teachers. We suggest you consult the course syllabi for further bibliographies and references.

This list is divided into the following major areas of world order concern: The World Order Perspective: Voices for the Oppressed; World Order Overview, Theories, Approaches and the Evolution of the State System; Alternative World Order; Peace; Economic Development and Well-Being; Human Rights/ Social Justice; Ecological Balance; Participation and Governance; and Culture, Values and Social Change.

### The World Order Perspective: Voices for the Oppressed

de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex.* NY: Bantam, 1968.

Biko, Steve. "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity" From *I Write What I Like.* NY: Harper & Row, 1978.

Boulding, Elise. *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976.

Charter 77: Czech Group's Plea for Human Rights. *Alternatives* 3, 2 1977-78: 265-67.

Deloria, Vine. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence.* NY: Delacorte Press, 1974.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth.* NY: Grove Press, 1968.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* NY: Herder & Herder, 1970.

Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and Its Discontents.* NY: Norton, 1962.

Harrington, Michael. *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor.* NY: Simon & Schuster, 1977.

Johansen, Bruce and Maestas, Roberto. *Wasi'chu: The Continuing Indian Wars.* NY: Monthly Review Press, 1979.

Lifton, Robert J. *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima.* NY: Random House, 1968.

Manifesto of the Alliance for Human Rights in China. *Index on Censorship 8,* September-October, 1979: 3-6.

Marcuse, Herbert. *One Dimensional Man.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

Moore, Barrington, Jr. *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

Neruda, Pablo. *The Heights of Macchu Picchu.* NY: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1967.

Panichas, George A., ed. *The Simone Weil Reader.* NY: David McKay Co., 1977.

Sakharov, Andre. "Peace, Progress, and Human Rights: The Nobel Peace Prize Lecture, 1975". *Alarm and Hope.* NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Shari'ati, Ali. *On the Sociology of Islam and Marxism and Other Western Fallacies.* Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press, 1979.

Shari'ati, Ali. "Reflections of a Concerned Muslim: On the Plight of Oppressed Peoples". *Race & Class* 21, Summer 1979: 33-40.

"The Shimoda Decision". From Richard A. Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz, eds. *Toward a Theory of War Prevention.* NY: World Law Fund, 1966.

Solzhenitsyn, A. *The Gulag Archipelago.* NY: Harper & Row, 1979.

Tinker, I. and Bobramsen, M. et al., eds. *Women and World Development.* NY: Praeger, 1976.

X, Malcolm. *Autobiography of Malcolm X.* NY: Ballantine, 1976.

## World Order: Overview, Theories, Approaches and the Evolution of the State System.

Angell, Robert C. *The Quest for World Order.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979.

Aron, Raymond. *Peace & War: A Theory of International Relations.* NY: Doubleday, 1966.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "America in a Hostile World". *Foreign Policy* 23, Summer, 1976.

Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics.* NY: Columbia University Press, 1977.

Bull, Hedley. "The State's Positive Role in World Affairs." *Daedulus* 108, Fall, 1979: 111-23.

Camps, Miriam. *The Management of Interdependence.* NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 1974.

Carneiro, Robert L. "A Theory of the Origin of the State." *Science* 169, 1970: 733-38.

Clark, Ian. "World Order Reform and Utopian Thought: A Contemporary Watershed?" *The Review of Politics* 41, January 1979.

Diamond, Stanley. "Civilization and Progress." From *In Search of the Primitive.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions Books, 1974.

Falk, Richard A. "Contending Approaches to World Order." *Journal of International Affairs* 31, Fall-Winter, 1977: 171-98.

Falk, Richard A., Kim, Samuel, Mendlovitz, Saul, eds. *The Strategy of a Just World Order.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981.

Falk, Richard A. "A New Paradigm for International Legal Studies: Prospects and Proposals" *Yale Law Journal* 84: 969-1021.

Falk, Richard A. and Mendlovitz, Saul eds. *Regional Politics and World Order.* San Francisco, CA: W. H. Freeman, 1973.

Falk, Richard A., Kratochwil, Friederick, Mendlovitz, Saul, eds. *A Just World Order and International Law.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981.

Falk, Richard A., Kim, Samuel, McNemar, Donald, Mendlovitz, Saul, eds. *United Nations and a Just World Order.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981.

Galtung, Johan. "The Future of the International System". *Journal of Peace Research* 4, 1967: 305-333.

Gilpin, Robert. "Three Models of the Future". *International Organization* 29, Winter 1975: 37-60.

Haas, Ernst B. *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization.* Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1968.

Herz, John. *The Nation-State and the Crisis of World Politics.* NY: David McKay Co., Inc., 1976.

Herz, John. "Rise and Demise of the Territorial State". *World Politics* 9, July 1957: 473-93.

Hoffman, Stanley. *Primacy or World Order: America American Foreign Policy Since the Cold War.* NY: McGraw-Hill, 1978.

Holsti, K. J. "The European and Contemporary State Systems". From *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977.

Jacobson, Harold. *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System.* NY: Knopf, 1979.

Johansen, Robert C. *The National Interest and the Human Interest.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980.

Kim, Samuel. *China, The United Nations, and World Order.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979.

Kim, Samuel. "The Chinese Image of World Order". *Alternatives*. 3, 4, 1978.

Mansbach, Richard W., Ferguson, Y. H., and Lamport, D.E. *The Web of World Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Nye, Joseph and Keohane, Robert. *Power and Interdependence*. Boston: Little Brown, 1977.

Oakeshott, Michael. *On Human Conduct*. NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975.

O'Connor, James. *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. NY: St. Martin's, 1973.

Peccei, Aurelio. *The Human Quality*. NY: Pergamon, 1977.

Pirages, Dennis. *The New Concept for International Relations: Global Ecopolitics*. No. Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1978: esp. Ch. 1.

Reisman, Michael and Weston, Burns. *Toward World Order and Human Dignity*. NY: Free Press, 1976.

Sharp, Gene. *Social Power and Political Freedom*. Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1980.

Sprout, Harold and Sprout, Margaret. *Towards a Politics of the Planet Earth*. NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971.

Vernon, Raymond. *Sovereignty at Bay*. NY: Basic Books, 1971.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World System*. NY: Academic Press, 1974.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, September 1974.

Waltz, Kenneth. *Man, the State and War*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1959.

Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1979.

Weston, Burns, et al. *International Law and World Order*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1980.

### Alternative World Order and Transition Strategies

Bell, Daniel. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture into Social Forecasting*. NY: Basic Books, 1973.

Bell, Daniel. "The Future World Disorder: The Structural Context of Crisis". *Foreign Policy* 27, Summer 1977: 109-135.

Beres, L. R. and Targ, Harry R. *Constructing Alternative World Futures: Reordering the Planet*. Boston: Allyn-Bacon, 1974.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*. NY: Viking, 1970.

Clark, Grenville and Sohn, Louis B. *World Peace Through World Law*. 2nd edition, revised. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1960.

Clark, Grenville and Sohn, Louis B. *Introduction to World Peace Through World Law*. Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1973.

Deutsch, K. "Some Prospects for the Future". *Journal of International Affairs*. Fall/Winter, 1977: 315-326.

Esfandiary, F. M. *Upwingers*. NY: John Day, 1973.

Falk, Richard A. *A Study of Future Worlds*. NY: The Free Press, 1975.

Fuller, Buckminster. *Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1969.

Fuller, Buckminster. *Utopia or Oblivion*. NY: Bantam Books, 1969.

Galtung, Johan. *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective*. NY: Free Press, 1980.

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Lagos, Gustavo and Godoy, Horatio. *Revolution of Being: A Latin American View of the Future.* NY: The Free Press, 1977.

Mazrui, Ali. *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective.* NY: Free Press, 1977.

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"To Set in Motion the Process of Change". *The 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Report.* pp. 222-48.

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Arendt, H. *On Violence.* NY: Harcourt-Brace & World, 1970.

Barnet, Richard. *Intervention & Revolution.* NY: New American Library, 1972.

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Feld, Bernard. "Making the World Safe for Plutonium" and Myrdal, Alva. "Peaceful Nuclear Explosions". *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 31, 5, May 1975.

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Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research". *Journal of Peace Research* 6, 1969.

Gandhi, Mohandas. *Nonviolence in Peace and War.* NY: Garland, 1971.

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Sivard, Ruth Leger. *World Military and Social Expenditures 1980.* Leesburg, VA: World Priorities, 1980.

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Wright, Quincy. *A Study of War.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965.

## Economic Development and Well-Being

Adelman, Irma and Morris, Cynthia T. *Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries.* Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1973.

S. Allende's Address Delivered at the Inaugural Ceremony on April 13, 1972, Third Session of UNCTAD. From *Proceedings of UNCTAD. Third Session, Santiago de Chile, 13 April to 21 May, 1972.* Volume I: *Report and Annexes.* pp. 349-57.

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# Periodicals

The following is a select list of scholarly journals, magazines, and resource newsletters useful to teachers, students and researchers in world order studies. For more information about a particular periodical, please write directly to the journal or newsletter concerned. We wish to thank Professor Neil Katz, Director of the Nonviolent Conflict and Change Program at Syracuse University, and his students for their assistance in supplying us information about relevant peace research periodicals.

*Alternatives: A Journal of World Policy.* 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Quarterly.

Area 1: North America, Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Israel. Individuals: $15/yr; $25/2yrs. Institutions: $30/yr.

Area 2: The Caribbean, Central America, South America. Individuals: $8/yr. Institutions: $15/yr.

Area 3: Africa, West Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia. Individuals: $6/yr. Institutions: $9/yr. Area 3 order from: Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, 29 Rajpur Rd., Delhi 110054, India.

*American Journal of Sociology.* The University of Chicago Press, 5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637. Quarterly. Individual: $20/yr; $36/2 yrs; $51/3 yrs. Institutions: $27/yr; $48.60/2 yrs; $68.85/3 yrs. Students: $16.20/yr.

*Arms Control Today.* Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington DC 20036. Monthly. $20/yr USA and Canada. $25/yr Foreign.

*Atlas—World Press Review.* Box 915, Farmingdale, NY 11737. Monthly. $16/yr; $28/2 yrs; $36/3 yrs.

*The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.* 1020-24 E. 58th St., Chicago, IL 60637. 10 issues/yr. Individual: $19.50/yr; $36/2 yrs; $48/3 yrs. Institutions: $25/yr; $47/2 yrs; $67/3 yrs.

*Bulletin of Peace Proposals.* International Peace Research Institute, Radhusgt 4, Oslo 1, Norway. Quarterly. $22/yr.

*Coevolution Quarterly.* Point Foundation, Box 428, Sausalito, CA 94965. Quarterly. $12/yr.

*Current News and the Friday Review of Defense Literature.* Department of the Air Force, Washington DC 20330. Weekly. By exchange agreement only.

*Current Research on Peace and Violence.* Tampere Peace Research Institute, Hameenkatu 13b A, 33100, Tampere 10, Finland. Quarterly. Individuals $12.50/yr.; institutions $14.00/yr.

*Defense Monitor.* Center for Defense Information, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington DC 20002. (202) 543-0400. 10 issues per year. $15/yr.

*Development and Socio-Economic Progress.* Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, 89, Abdel Azia Al-Saoud St., Manial El-Roda, Cairo, Egypt. Quarterly.

*Development Dialogue.* Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Ovre Slottsgatan 2, 752 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

*Disarmament Times.* Room 7B, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. 8 issues/yr. $4/yr USA and Canada. $8/yr overseas airmail.

*Food Monitor.* P.O. Box 1975, Garden City, NY 11530. Bi-Monthly. $10/yr.

*Footnotes to the Future.* Futuremics, Inc., 1629 K St. NW, Washington DC 20006. Monthly. $12/yr.

*Foreign Affairs.* Subscription Dept., P.O. Box 2615, Boulder, CO 80321. Quarterly. Individuals: $18/yr; $34/2 yrs; $48/3 yrs. Foreign: $20/yr.

*Foreign Policy.* 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington DC 20036. Quarterly. $12/yr.

*Future Survey.* World Future Society, 4916 St. Elmo Ave., Washington DC 20014. Monthly. $24/yr for WFS members; $36/yr for non-members and libraries.

*Futures.* IPC House, 32 High St., Guildford, Surrey, England. Bi-monthly. For U.S. & Canada: Individuals (airmail) $65; Institutions $96.20.

*The Futurist.* The World Future Society, 4916 St. Elmore Ave., Washington DC 20014. Bi-monthly. Individuals: $18/yr. Libraries: $21/yr.

*Gandhi Marg.* Journal of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, 2221-223 Deen Dayal, Upadhyaya Marg, New Delhi, 110002, India. Monthly. $12/yr.

*Human Rights Internet Reporter.* Human Rights Internet, 1502 Ogden St., NW, Washington DC 20010. 5 issues per year. Individuals: $25/yr. Institutions: $35/yr.

*The Humanist.* 7 Harwood Drive, Amherst, NY 14226. Bi-monthly. $12/yr; $20/2 yrs; $27/3 yrs. Foreign: add $2.50/yr.

*IFDA Dossier.* 2, place du marche, CH-1260 Nyon, Switzerland. Bi-monthly. Complimentary upon written request.

*In These Times.* 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Weekly. Individuals: $19.50/yr. Institutions: $35/yr. Foreign: $32/yr.

*Intercom.* Global Perspectives in Education, Inc. 218 E. 18th St., New York, NY 10003. Quarterly. $8/yr; $15/2 yrs; $21/3 yrs.

*Interdependent.* United Nations Association, USA, 300 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017. 8 issues/yr $10/yr.

*International Fellowship of Reconciliation Reports.* 1811 LD Alkmaar Holland, The Netherlands. 5 times per year. $12/yr.

*International Organization.* Center for Research in International Studies, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. Quarterly. Individuals: $12.50/yr. Institutions and libraries: $25/yr.

*International Peace Research Newsletter.* c/o Hylke W. Tromp, Polemological Institute, University of Groningen, Rijksstraatweg 76, P.O. Box 121, 9750 AC Haren (Gr.), The Netherlands. Bi-monthly. $7/yr for non-members in North America.

*International Political Science Abstracts.* Foundation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 27 rue Saint Guillaume, 75341 Paris Cedex 07, France. Bi-monthly. Individuals: 125 F. Institutions: 450 F.

*International Security.* The MIT Press Journals, 28 Carleton St., Cambridge, MA 02142. Quarterly. Individuals: $15/yr. Institutions: $30/yr.

*International Social Science Journal.* UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris 7, France. Quarterly.

*International Studies Notes.* Professor L. C. Duly, 1223 Oldfather, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588. Quarterly. Membership in International Studies Association or $20/yr.

*International Studies Quarterly.* Sage Publications, 275 South Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, CA 90212. Quarterly. Institutions: $32/yr. Individuals: Available through membership in the International Studies Association, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC

29208.

*Issues.* 17 W. 17th St., 8th Fl., New York, NY 10011. Monthly. Individuals: $15/yr. Institutions: $30/yr.

*Journal of Conflict Resolution.* Center for Conflict Resolution, SAGE Publications Inc., 275 S. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, CA 90212. Quarterly. $16.80/yr.

*Journal of Environmental Education.* Heldref Publications, 4000 Albemarle St., NW, Washington DC 20016. Quarterly. Individuals: $10/yr. Institutions: $15/yr. Add $3 for postage outside U.S. and Canada.

*Journal of International Affairs.* School of International Affairs, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. 2 issues per year. $6/yr.

*Journal of Palestine Studies.* Institute for Palestine Studies, P.O. Box 11-7164, Beirut, Lebanon. Quarterly. $20/yr; $33/2 yrs; $45/3 yrs.

*Journal of Peace Research.* Universitetsforlaget, Subscription Division, P.O. Box 2959 Toyen, Oslo 6, Norway; or P.O. Box 258, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, NY 10533. In U.S. Individuals: $24/yr. Institutions: $28/yr.

*Journal of Peace Research Abstracts.* Canadian Peace Research Institute, 119 Thomas St., Oakville, Ontario Canada L6J 3A7.

*Journal of Political & Military Sociology.* c/o Department of Sociology, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, IL 60115. Semi-annual. Individuals: $9.50/yr. Institutions: $11/yr. Students: $7.50/yr.

*Macroscope.* Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Occasional. Complimentary upon request.

*Marxist Perspectives.* The Cliomar Corp./MP, Dept. K, 420 West End Ave., New York, NY 10024. Quarterly. Individual: $18/yr; $33/2 yrs; $46/3 yrs. Institutions: $30/yr; $55/2 yrs; $76/3 yrs.

*MERIP Reports.* Middle East Research & Information Project, P.O. Box 3122, Washington DC 20010. 9 issues per year. Individuals: $12/yr. Institutions: $20/yr.

*Middle East Review.* Transaction Periodicals Consortium, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. Quarterly. U.S. $12/yr; $22/2 yrs; $30/3 yrs. Foreign: $14/yr; $26/2 yrs; $36/3 yrs.

*Monthly Review.* 62 W. 14th St., New York, NY 10011. Monthly. US: Individuals: $15/yr. Institutions and libraries: $24/yr. Students: $11/yr. Foreign: Individuals: $18/yr. Institutions and libraries: $26/yr. Students: $13/yr.

*Mother Jones.* Foundation for National Progress, 625 Third St., San Francisco, CA 94107. (415) 495-6326. 10 issues per year. Individuals: $12/yr. North & Central America, Caribbean: $14/surface, $24/airmail. All other countries: $15/surface, $30/airmail.

*Multinational Monitor.* P.O. Box 19312, Washington DC 20036. Monthly. Individual: $15/yr. Institutions, non-profit: $20/yr. Business: $30/yr. Canada & Mexico: Add $2.50. Other countries: Add $8.00.

*NACLA: Report on the Americas.* North American Congress on Latin America, 151 W. 19th St., 4th Fl., New York, NY 10011. Bimonthly. Individuals: $13/yr. Institutions: $24/yr.

*The Nation.* 72 5th Ave., New York, NY 10011. Weekly. $25/yr; $45/2 yrs. Students: $17/yr. Canada and Mexico add $5. Other countries: Add $7.

*New Internationalist.* Devo Press, Ltd., 62A High St., Wallingford, Oxford, England. Monthly. $12/yr.

*New Political Science.* Caucus for a New Political Science, Columbia University, 420 W. 118th St., Rm 733, New York, NY 10027. Quarterly. Low income: $10/yr. Regular:

$15/yr. Institutions: $35-$50.

*Not Man Apart.* 124 Spear St., San Francisco, CA 94105. Monthly. Individual: $15/yr. Foreign: $19/surface: $27/airmail.

*Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research.* Dennis P. Carey, Center for Peaceful Change, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242. 3 issues per year. Individual: $12/yr. Institution: $18/yr. Student: $7.50/yr.

*Peace Research.* Canadian Peace Research Institute, 119 Thomas St., Oakville, Ontario, Canada L6J 3A7. Individuals: $4/yr. Institutions: $8/yr. Quarterly.

*Peace and the Sciences.* Mollwaldplatz 5, A-1040 Vienna, Austria. Occasional. AS 240/plus postage.

*Perspectives.* 400 Albemarle St., NW, Washington DC 20016. Monthly. Individuals: $11/yr. Institutions: $20/yr.

*Planet Earth.* Planetary Citizens, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Biannual. $15/yr.

*Political Science Quarterly.* Academy of Political Science, 619 W. 114th St., Suite 500, New York, NY 10025. Quarterly. Subscription through membership in academy: $17/yr; $46/3 yrs. Students $13/yr. Libraries and institutions $24/yr. Foreign postage: Add $2/yr.

*The Progressive.* 408 W. Gorham St., Madison WI 53703. Individual: $17/yr; $26/2 yrs; $37/3 yrs. Institutions: $20/yr. Foreign: $21/yr; $33/2 yrs.

*Review.* Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems, and Civilizations, State University of New York, Binghamton, NY. For subscription: Sage Publications, Inc., 275 S. Beverly Dr., Beverly Hills, CA 90212. Quarterly. Individuals: $15/yr. Institutions: $30/yr.

*SAREC Report.* Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, c/o SIDA, S-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden. Quarterly. Complimentary upon request.

*Sojourners.* 1309 L St., NW, Washington DC 20005. Monthly. Individuals: $12/yr; $22/2 yrs; $30/3 yrs. Canada and Mexico: $13/yr; $24/2 yrs; $33/3 yrs. Foreign: $14/yr; $26/2 yrs; $36/3 yrs.

*Southeast Asia Chronicle.* Southeast Asia Resource Center, P.O. Box 4000-D, Berkeley, CA 94704. Bi-monthly. $8/regular; $10/foreign; $12/libraries, institutions; $6/low income; $15/foreign airmail.

*Teachers College Record.* Columbia University, 525 W. 120th St., New York, NY 10027. Quarterly. Individuals: $14/yr; $21/2 yrs. Institutions: $18/yr; $27/2 yrs. Foreign postage: Add $2/yr.

*Teilhard Review.* Teilhard Centre for the Future of Man, 81 Cromwell Rd., London, SW 7 5BW, England. 3 issues per year. $10/yr.

*Third World Quarterly.* New Zealand House, 80 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS, England. Quarterly. U.S.: Individuals $20/yr; Institutions $24/yr; Students $12/yr.

*Tranet.* P. O. Box 567, Rangeley, ME 04970. Quarterly. $15/yr.

*Transition.* Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Occasional. Complimentary upon request.

*Transnational Associations.* Union of International Associations, 1, rue aux Laines, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium. Monthly, 850 Fr.

*U.N. Monthly Chronicle.* Unipub, 345 Park Ave. So., New York, NY 10010. Monthly. $11/yr.

*UNESCO Courier.* Unipub, 345 Park Ave. So., New York, NY 10010. 11 times per year. $11/yr.

*Universal Human Rights.* Journal Editor, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD 21218. Quarterly. $39.50/yr.

*Whole Earth Papers.* Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. Occasional monographs. $10/yr. Foreign: $12/yr.

*Win Magazine.* 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217. Bi-weekly. $15/yr. Overseas postage: Add $17/surface mail.

*Working Papers for a New Society.* 186 Hampshire St., Cambridge, MA 02139. Bimonthly. Individual: $18/yr; $33/2 yrs; $45/3 yrs. Institutions: $24/yr. Student and low income: $13.50/yr.

*World Future Society Bulletin.* World Future Studies Federation, Casella Postale 6203, Roma-Prati, Italy. Bi-monthly. $12/yr.

*World Politics.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 08540. U.S. and Canada: Individual: $10/yr; $17.50/2 yrs; $25/3 yrs. Institutions: $20/yr; $37/2 yrs; $49/3 yrs. Foreign: Individual: $12-50/yr; $22/2 yrs; $31-50/3 yrs. Institutions: $25/yr; $46.25/2 yrs; $61.25/3 yrs.

*Worldview.* CRIA, 170 E. 64th St., New York, NY 10021. Monthly. $15/yr; $28/2 yrs; $39/3 yrs. Student: $7.50/yr.

*Worldwatch Paper Series.* Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036. $25/yr for all papers and books published in the calendar year.

# Multimedia and Simulation Games

The following is a select list of multimedia materials that have been successfully used in the classroom. For other materials, we suggest you consult the following film guides and libraries:

American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (films on disarmament and global issues);

Audio Visual Resources on Global Issues, Unitarian Universalist UN Office, Inc., 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017 (film guide, $3.00);

Disarmament: A Select Film Bibliography, The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027;

Films of the United Nations Family 1980-81, New York: UN Information Center, New York, NY 10017;

Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave. So., #1319, New York, NY 10003 (films on Middle East, economic development, and Third World);

The Museum of Modern Art, Department of Film Circulating Programs, 11 W. 53rd St., New York, NY 10019;

Oxfam America, 302 Columbus Ave., Boston, MA 02216 (films on economic development and food/hunger);

Packard Manse Media Project, Box 450, Stoughton, MA 02072 (films on nuclear power, transnational corporations, disarmament);

Resolution, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (films on US foreign policy and transnational corporations);

SANE, 318 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002 (slideshows on disarmament);

Star Film Library, 120 Boylston St., #708, Boston, MA 02216 (films on US military policy and Third World);

Third World Newsreel, 160 5th Ave., New York, NY 10010 (films on Third World and social change movements);

Time-Life Video, 100 Eisenhower Dr., P.O. Box 644, Paramus, NJ 07652 (world history/global concerns);

Tricontinental Film Center, 333 Ave. of the Americas, New York, NY 10014 (films on Third World and liberation movements);

Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. So., New York, NY 10016 (films on Latin America, ecology, and economics);

John Dowling, War, Peace Film Guide, 1980, World Without War Publications, 67 E. Madison, Suite 1417, Chicago, IL 60603.

*Acceptable Risk?: The Nuclear Age in the United States.* Slideshow or filmstrips, 35 minutes, 1980 ($15). AFSC/National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (AFSC/NARMIC). Examines various production aspects of nuclear technology and considers the involvement of corporations, workers and the military in nuclear issues.

*Adam & Eve—Americans.* Color slideshow or 3/4" videotape cassette, 1979. ($15). Francis Lestingi, Dept. of Physics and Interdisciplinary Science, Room 260B, State University of New York, Buffalo, NY 14222. A satire of a nuclear war scenario showing the absurdity of the American attitude of "rather being dead than red."

*As If People Mattered.* Color, 16 min., ($28.50). Bullfrog Films, Oley, PA 19547. Presents arguments for small scale, appropriate technologies, and a more humane, decentralized economy— with special reference to the world energy situation.

*Avenue of the Americas.* Color, 82 min., 1975. ($150). Pueblo Film Productions Inc., P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. Documents Allende's socialism in the pre-coup months; the role of the U.S. government and transnational corporations in bringing down Allende's democratically elected government; and the coup itself. Includes interviews with ex-CIA agent Phillip Agee and Nobel laureate George Wald.

*Baldicer.* Simulation Game (purchase $25). John Knox Press, Box 1176, Richmond, VA 23209. An effective game on the food/hunger problem. For 15-40 players.

*Banking on South Africa.* 139 slides with cassette, 1977. ($5). Unitarian Universalist Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108. Suggests ways to put pressure on financial institutions to stop investments which support a repressive apartheid system.

*The Beginning or the End.* Color, 15 min., 1977. ($15). Univ. of Minnesota, Audio-Visual Service, 3300 University Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Stresses the need for world citizenship in a world of increasingly interdependent nations.

*Between Men.* Color, 57 min., 1979. P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. Explores masculinity and the military. Interviews with men from WW I to Vietnam to present day enlistees. It is about men who have become warriors and the consequences to our lives.

*Blood of the Condor.* B&W, 72 min., English subtitles, 1969. ($100). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Examines U.S. involvement in population control programs for Latin Americans—which frequently involve sterilization. Provides an accurate reflection of the predominant attitude of Latin Americans toward U.S. "aid programs".

*This Bloody Blundering Business.* B&W, 26 min., 1976. ($35). Tricontinental Films, 333 Ave. of the Americas, New York, NY 10014. Parallels U.S. involvement in Vietnam and the Philippine "liberation" in 1898 using historical footage to produce a satire on American foreign policy.

*Boom.* Color, 10 min., 1979. (purchase $140; may be rented from other film libraries). UN, New York, NY 10017. Animated film taking a humorous look at the history of aggression and the theory that might makes right.

*Bottle Babies.* Color, 26 min., 1975. ($6). Unitarian Universalist Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108. Exposes the negative effects of the marketing practices of Western-style infant formula manufacturers in Africa.

*Brazil: No Time for Tears.* B&W, 36 min., subtitles, 1971. Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Features interviews with nine former Brazilian political prisoners who recount their ordeals under torture. The interviews are intercut with demonstrations of the methods and instruments of torture.

*CBW: The Secrets of Secrecy.* Color, 49 min., 1969. ($13.25). Oregon State Audio-Visual Instruction, 133 Gill Coliseum, Corvallis, OR 97331. A factual investigation into chemical and biological warfare, showing the making and testing on animals of various agents including nerve gas.

*Children of the Sun.* Color, 10 min., 1960. (53). Univ. of California, Extension Media Center, Berkeley, CA 94720. Compares the life of a well-fed child with the plight of underprivileged children.

*Controlling Interest.* Color, 40 min., 1978. ($60). California Newsreel/Earthwork, Development Media Center, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103. Takes a hard look at the impact of multinational corporations on economic and political develop ment in the U.S. and the Third World.

*The Cost of Cotton.* Color, 30 min., Spanish dialogue with English subtitles, 1979. ($50).

Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Examines the effects of the international demand for cotton on a developing nation. Focuses on Guatemala and the problems it faces from using pesticides to grow cotton.

*The Corporation.* Color, 53 min., 1973. ($7.50). AFL/CIO Film Division, 815 16th Ave. NW, Washington DC 20006. Provides an opportunity to see the inner workings of a conglomerate and its effect upon its employees, the whole nation, and the world economy.

*Conflict: A Simulation of a Disarmed World.* Simulation game. (purchase $50). Simile II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, CA 92037. For 27-42 players at the high school or college level.

*Creating the Future.* Slideshow. ($5). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. An exploration of mounting global concerns. Provides audience with an awareness of resources, curriculum materials and concrete programs developed in a number of schools.

*The Day After Tomorrow.* Color, 28 min., 1974. ($20). Great Plains National, P.O. Box 80669, Lincoln, NE 68501. Examines some energy sources as viable alternatives to oil and gas, evaluating the environmental impact of each one.

*The Decision to Drop the Bomb.* B&W, 81 min., 1966. (Univ. of California, Extension Media Center, Berkeley, CA 04720. Probes two main questions—how the decision to drop the bomb was made, and why. Concerned with the decision-making process in 1945 and an analysis of its justification 20 years later.

*Defense and Domestic Needs: A Contest for Tomorrow.* Color, 77 min., 1969. ($19). Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA 04720. Critical examination of military strategies and costs, emphasizing relative power and influence of legislators, Pentagon officials, industry leaders, and private citizens in making military decisions.

*Devil's Island.* Color, 65 min., Vietnamese with English subtitles, 1975. ($100). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., NY, NY 10016. Reveals the shocking reality of Con Son, the largest island prison in the world. Built by French colonialists off the coast of Vietnam, the camp and its infamous "tiger cages" are powerfully described.

*Diet for a Small Planet.* Color, 28 min., 1974. ($30). Bullfrog Films, Oley, PA 19547. Discussion of the ecological implications of the U.S. dependence on meat as a source of protein.

*Dr. Strangelove.* B&W, 93 min., 1963. ($150). C. C. Columbia Cinematheque, 711 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10022. Satire on the military mind, anti-communist hysteria and bumbling good intentions.

*The Dumping Grounds.* B&W, 27 min., 1970. ($15). United Church of Christ, Office for Audio-Visuals, 512 Burlington Ave., La Grange, IL 60525. Describes the forced relocation of thousands of black Africans by the government of South Africa to an isolated area where there are no natural resources to sustain them.

*Ecocide: A Strategy of War.* Color, 21 min., 1971 (rental apply). Thorne Films Inc., 1229 University Ave., Boulder, CO 80302. A record of the extent of ecological disruption caused by the weapons and techniques employed by the U.S. in Indochina.

*Education and World Order.* Videotape cassette, 1980. ($10). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. Education is heavily influenced by national security concerns on the one hand, and the evolution of global interdependencies on the other. What is the scope of that influence today, and what new trends are discernable in education of life in a world community?

*Energy and World Order.* Videotape cassette, 1980. ($10). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. The question of "hard" versus "soft" technology cannot find a just and human resolution unless it is examined within the context of global interdependencies and effective world order.

*Faces of My Brother.* Color, 5 min. 1973. (free). Maryknoll Fathers, Maryknoll, NY 10575. A short film on "Who is the Third World?", which provides a glimpse into America's ignorance of the Third World.

*Fail Safe.* B&W, 111 min., 1965. ($35). AB Audio/Brandon, 34 MacQueston Pkwy. S., Mt. Vernon, NY 10550. Shows the alarming possibilities of accidental nuclear war through computer error.

*Future Shock.* Color, 42 min., 1972. ($25). SUNY at Buffalo, Media Library, 1 Foster Annex, Buffalo, NY 14214. Shows the impact of technological change on religion, marriage, family, individuality, health care and the resulting alienation and anxiety.

*Games of Peace.* Color, 14 min., 1977. ($7). Americans Talk Peacekeeping, 833 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. About the United Nations and UN Peacekeeping. Asks tough questions about the U.S. role in the United Nations.

*Gandhi.* B&W, 27 min., 1958. ($6.50). Boston University, Krasker Memorial Film Library, 765 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215. Explores Gandhi's philosophy of passive resistance and nonviolence, setting it against the major events of his struggle for national independence and social justice in India.

*The Global Arms Race: Competition, Control or Disarmament.* Six 3-minute cassette recordings. (purchase $12; rental $4). SANE Education Fund of Pennsylvania, 1141 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. Self-contained discussions that raise provocative issues about the arms race. Titles: 1) "The Militarization of the Planet: An Overview of the Arms Race"; 2) "The Superpowers' Arms Race"; 3) "Perspectives on Ending the Arms Race"; 4) "The Nuclear Energy-Weapons Connection"; 5) "Global Resources and Military Demand"; 6) "The Arms Race: A Public Issue."

*Good Times, Wonderful Times.* B&W, 70 min., 1965. ($125). Impact Films, 144 Bleecker St., New York, NY 10012. Documentary footage of German concentration camps, scenes of Warsaw ghettos and Hiroshima-Nagasaki victims.

*Guess Who's Coming to Breakfast?* Slideshow with cassette, 1978. (free). Maryknoll Justice and Peace Office, Maryknoll, NY 10545. Documents the policies of the transnational firm, Gulf & Western, which owns and exploits rich agricultural holdings in the Dominican Republic.

*Guns or Butter.* Simulation Game. (Purchase, $25) Simile II, 1150 Silverado, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, CA 92037. Explores the international system of political and economic power. Requires 3-5 hours to play.

*The H-Bomb Secret.* Slideshow with cassette, 15 or 30 minute version available, 1979. ($15). The Riverside Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027. Technically describes how the bomb works and the many corporations and communities around the country that make components for it.

*The Hat: Is This War Necessary?* Color, 18 min., 1964. ($15). Mass Media Ministries, 2115 N. Charles St., Baltimore, MD 21218. Raises questions about the need for a world legal order. RBC Films, 933 La Brea Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90038. Documents the war against the Vietnamese people that was carried out by the U.S. government. Especially relevant for today because of its interviews with policy makers and military men.

*The High Stakes Energy Game.* Simulation Game. (purchase $5). Beth Ferris and Barry Childers, 327 E. Vine St., Oxford, OH 45056. Participants should acquire knowledge about the nuclear power issue, an exposure to the arguments used on both sides of the issue, and an understanding of the way in which nuclear power decisions are made.

*Hiroshima: A Document of Atomic Bombing.* B&W, 30 min., 1970. ($20). Wilmington College Peace Resource Center, Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, OH 45177. Stock footage shot in Hiroshima in the first days and weeks following the atomic bombing, interspersed with contemporary footage showing after-effects in the lives of victims.

*The Hole.* Color, 15 min. ($15). Roa Films, 1696 N. Astor St., Milwaukee, WI 53202. Examines the probability that an accident might trigger war.

*The Hour of the Furnaces.* B&W, 260 min., 3 parts. Spanish dialogue with English subtitles, 1968. ($285 for complete rental). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Presents the liberation struggle being waged throughout Latin America, using Argentina as a historical model of colonialist and imperialist exploitation of the continent, and examines its potential today for mass revolutionary action.

*Hunger in America.* Color, 52 min., 1968. ($7.50) AFL-CIO Film Division, 815 16th St., NW, Washington DC 20006. A famous CBS documentary about the hungry in America. Exposes the inadequacy of government programs designed to end malnutrition in America.

*Incident at Browns Ferry.* Color, 58 min. ($60). Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Dr., Paramus, NJ 07652. Raises questions about the potential hazards of nuclear reactors and the adequacy of the safety precautions taken when accidents occur.

*Investing in Apartheid "Activation Kit".* (purchase $3). Southern Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103. A detailed handbook making use of questionnaires, simulation games, background readings, discussion and resource guides to help groups develop a sense of themselves as investors working together to take responsibility for the social consequences of their investment dollars.

*Is It Always Right to be Right?* Color, 8 min., 1971. ($5.75). Oregon State, Audio-Visual Instruction, 133 Gill Coliseum, Corvallis, OR 97331. Focuses on divisive issues in society—war, poverty, the generation gap, race—ending with a declaration of interdependence among people.

*John, Mary, MIRV and MARV: The Arms Race and the Human Race.* Slideshow with cassette, 14 min., 1979. ($7 rental). Institute for World Order, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Examines issues and questions concerning national security, such as: How real is the Soviet threat to our national defense? What does being "number one" mean in the nuclear age? How can we better achieve national security?

*Last Grave at Dimbaza.* Color, 55 min., 1975. ($75). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Widely acclaimed as the most powerful and persuasive film today on South Africa's controversial policy of apartheid.

*The Last Slide Show.* Carousel with cassette, 24 min. Packard Manse Media Project, Box 450, Stoughton, MA 02072. Disarmament seen as an issue of life over death.

*The Law of the Sea.* Color, 28 min., 1973. ($10.50). Kent State Univ., Audio-Visual Services, Kent, OH 44242. Survey of the issues—economic, environmental, legal—requiring a new international understanding of the rights and riches of the sea.

*The Long Chain.* B&W, 20 min., 1972. ($30). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Illustrates the consequences of foreign investment and foreign aid programs and shows in a simple way what happens when large multinational corporations establish overseas branches in developing countries.

*A Luta Continua.* Color, 32 min., 1971. ($14.50). Kent State Univ., Audio-Visual Services, Kent, OH 44242. Examines the nature of guerilla warfare using front-line footage of FRELIMO, the guerilla army that overthrew Portuguese rule in Mozambique.

*More Than a Million Years.* B&W, 28 min., 1976. ($35). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Produced by Amnesty International. Reports on the more than 100,000 political prisoners who have been incarcerated since the 1965 CIA-supported coup in Indonesia. The support of the U.S. and other Western powers for the repressive Suharto regime is examined.

*My Country Occupied.* B&W, 35 min., ($35). California Newsreel/Earthwork, Development Media Center, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103. Shows how U.S.

multinational corporations have penetrated every aspect of the Guatemalan economy.

*The New Alchemists.* Color, 29 min., 1974. ($12.50). Boston Univ., Krasker Memorial Film Library, 765 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215. A documentation of successful alternative natural farming methods used in establishing a plant and fish farm.

*A New Bargain.* Color, 28 min., 1976. ($27). Univ. of California, Extension Media Center, Berkeley, CA 94720. Provides survey of how trade patterns between the industrial and developing nations perpetuate and widen the gap in wealth and describes the work of the UN Conference on Trade and Development to deal with this situation.

*Night and Fog.* B&W, 32 min., 1955. ($12). SUNY at Buffalo, Media Library, 1 Foster Annex, Buffalo, NY 14214. Portrayal of German racial policy from the first deportations in 1933 through the "final solution" of genocide at Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Belsen, and Dachau.

*No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger.* B&W, 68 min., 1968. ($100). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Delineates the relationship between racism in the U.S. and racism abroad. Offers direct and startling insights into the attitudes and feelings of black Americans.

*Nuclear Power in an Interdependent World.* Videotape cassette, 1980. ($10). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. The debate over nuclear power stands at an impasse because energy alternatives are usually debated within the static assumptions of present national structures.

*Nuclear Power: Pro and Con.* Color, 50 min., 1977. ($40). McGraw Hill Films, Distribution Center, Princeton Rd., Hightstown, NJ 08520. Provides a look at the arguments on both sides of the nuclear power question.

*The Oil Weapon.* Color, 50 min., 1975. ($18.25). Michigan State Univ., International Media Center, East Lansing, MI 48823. The social and economic dilemmas created by the scarcity of oil are explored from the point of view of the Arab oil-producing countries.

*On Conceiving a World Order.* Videotape cassette, 2 parts, 1980. ($10 each). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. Various conceptions and models for a more just and human world order are examined. Special focus is placed on the role of functional agencies in a world security system.

*On the Edge of the Forest.* Color, 32 min., 1979. ($38.50). Bullfrog Films, Oley, PA 19547. A message by E. F. Schumacher to get people to pay attention to the disastrous consequences of the doctrine of limitless growth.

*Our Poisoned World: The Human Race is Losing.* Color, 30 min., 1971. ($12). Univ. of Illinois, Visual Aids Services, 1325 S. Oak St., Champaign, IL 61820. Demonstrates that the human race is losing the fight against the contaminating effects of pesticides, garbage, noise, and polluted air and water.

*Paul Jacobs & the Nuclear Gang.* Color, 60 min., 1979. ($25). The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027. Focuses on the effects of radiation from the atom bomb tests of the 1950s and the government's efforts to deceive the GIs who witnessed them and the communities which lived through them. Emmy award winner for best documentary

*Peace in Search of Makers.* Slideshow w/cassette, 30 min., 1979. ($15). The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027. Presents a graphic history of the nuclear era from Hiroshima to Harrisburg. Includes commentaries by William Sloane Coffin, Richard Barnet, nuclear physicist Michio Kaku and organizer Pat McCullough.

*Photo Exhibit and Audio Cassette on Apartheid.* ($10). South Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103. A mountable photo exhibit containing scenes and descriptive text from life under apartheid. The cassette contains freedom songs and music from South Africa interspersed with recordings of Steve Biko and South African poets.

*A Plague on our Children.* Color, 57 min., Part I—Dioxins; Part II—PCBs. ($65 each). Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Dr., Paramus, NJ 07652. Discusses widespread use of herbicides and poisonous petrochemicals, which cause gross birth defects, miscarriages, cancer and other illnesses, and reveals the power of the chemical industry's lobbyists and lawyers to block their permanent and total ban.

*Planet Management Game.* Simulation Game. (purchase, $12). Houghton-Mifflin, 2 Park St., Boston, MA 02107. Role-playing of managers of a planet facing earth-like problems such as overpopulation, pollution, food shortages, and unequal incomes.

*The Plutonium Connection.* Color, 59 min. ($60). Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Dr., Paramus, NJ 07652. States the facts about the accessibility of the technical information necessary to build an atomic bomb, and questions our ability to prevent an individual or country from constructing a bomb and using it for terrorism.

*Return to Hiroshima.* Color slideshow on 3/4" videotape cassette, 1979. ($15). Francis Lestingi, Dept. of Physics and Interdisciplinary Science, Room 260B, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14222. Features an interview with one of the first American observers to return after the nuclear bombing there, with striking pictorials.

*Rich Man, Poor Man: Food.* Color, 52 min., 1972. ($50). Time/Life Films, 43 W. 16th St., New York, NY 10011. Shows how some countries have become dependent upon imports of machinery, fertilizers, and pesticides, as a result of the green revolution.

*The Selling of the Pentagon.* B&W, 52 min., 1971. ($15.60). Boston Univ. Krasker Memorial Film Library, 765 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215. Focuses on the expenditures of the Pentagon on public relations and questions the expenditures of this magnitude in peace time.

*Sharing Global Resources: Toward a New Economic Order.* Slideshow w/cassette, 35 min., 1978. (free). Maryknoll Justice and Peace Office, Maryknoll, NY 10545. Asks some hard questions, particularly of North Americans who consume nonrenewable global resources provided by transnational corporations from developing countries.

*Six Days in Soweto.* Color, 55 min., 1978. ($75). South Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103. An in-depth look at the Soweto rebellion of June 1976 and subsequent uprisings—their causes and their aftermath.

*Spaceship Survival.* Simulation Game. (free). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. Short, simple game about stereotyping and ethnocentricism. Most suitable for an introductory course.

*Starpower.* Simulation Game. ($3; directions on making kit). Simile II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, CA 92037. Deals with the world's unequal distribution of wealth and power. Suitable for 15-30 players.

*The State of the Earth.* Slideshow and printed commentary, 1980. ($5). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. An overview of the general state of the planet with strong emphasis on the interdependencies which exist within structures inadequate to handle them.

*Strategies for a Just and Human World Order.* Videotape cassette, 1980. ($10). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. A multi-issue coalition strategy for developing a grassroots world order movement. The focus is on strategies which utilize existing educational, professional, and religious networks as contributors to world order.

*The Struggle for Human Rights: U.S. Support for Repressive Regimes.* 140 color slides w/cassette, 1977 ($10) Bay Area Human Rights Working Committee, P.O. Box 1313, Oakland, CA 94604. Documents U.S. support for dictatorships in the Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, South Africa, Argentina, Chile, and Iran and discusses why and how U.S. citizens should work to end this support.

*Tilt.* Color, 20 min., 1972. ($10). Material Distribution Services, 341 Ponce de Leon, NE, Atlanta, GA 30308. Animated analysis of the problems of population, ecology, pollution, national development, international relations, and world armaments.

*Tools of Change.* Color, 30 min., 1978. ($45). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Explores the role of technology in history, society, and development, emphasizing the question, " Appropriate for what and for whom?". Relates the appropriateness of technology to development goals rather than to size.

*A Tour of Earth, Space and Our Place.* Slideshow w/tape, 20 min. single projector or 40 min. (3 or 6 slide projector) version. ($10; $45). Planetary Citizens, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Shows Earth's place in space using spectacular views of the cosmos, nature, and of human artifacts and activities. Creates a "planetary consciousness" experience similar to that of the astronauts.

*Tragedy or Triumph.* Color, 28 min., 1974. ($13.25). Univ. of Michigan, Audio-Visual Center, 416 4th St., Ann Arbor, MI 48103. The mass famines of the early 1970s are documented in this film which also includes the World Food Conference's recommendations of agricultural self-sufficiency and the creation of food stockpiles.

*Transfer: From Military Spending to Human Needs.* Slideshow w/cassette, 1979. (purchase only $30). Coalition for a new Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002. Documents U.S. military expenditures and neglect of domestic and international needs, in order to generate public support of the Transfer Amendment, by which Congress can transfer funds from one budget category to another.

*Trial at Nuremberg.* B&W, 26 min., 1958. ($7). Syracuse Univ., Film Rental Center, 1455 E. Colvin St., Syracuse, NY 13210. Covers the eleven-month trial of the 21 top Nazis charged with crimes against the peace and humanity. Uses American and Russian footage.

*Triumph of the Will.* B&W, 120 min., 1934-36, German with English subtitles. ($40). Audio-Brandon, 406 Clement St., San Francisco, CA 04118. A filmed record of the Sixth Annual Party Congress in Nuremberg in 1934, commissioned by Adolf Hitler for propaganda purposes. A document of a dictator's philosophy and methods.

*The Troublemakers.* B&W, 54 min., 1966. ($75). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Documents institutional resistance to social change and examines the roots of political turmoil in the '60s. Also shows the naivete and arrogance of the white, middle-class students trying to organize in black communities.

*Turning Point.* Color, 28 min., 1975. ($28). FMS Films, P.O.Box 7316, Alexandria, VA 22307. An analysis of the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly (1974) and the changing economic relations between the Third World and the industrialized countries.

*The Ultimate Absurdity.* Color slideshow or 3/4" videotape cassette, 1979. ($15). Francis Lestingi, Dept. of Physics and Interdisciplinary Science, Rm. 260B, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14222. Presents a view of the links between organized science, politics, and the military, as well as a statement on the pacifism of Einstein.

*Voices of Hunger.* Color, 35 min., 1975. Univ. of Minnesota, Audio-Visual Library Services, 3300 University Ave., SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. A view of rural famine in India, combined with proposed solutions – irrigation, land reform, fertilizer, and control of the black market.

*Voyage to Next.* Color, 10 min., 1975. ($7.50). Univ. of Iowa, Audiovisual Center Media Library, C-5 East Hall, Iowa City, IA 52242. Voices of Mother Earth and Father Time commiserate over the problems that have arisen on earth because humans have divided themselves into a system of nationalistic boxes contrary to Mother Earth's overall plan.

*The War at Home.* Color, 100 min., 1979. Joan Zieger, Educational Communications Board, State of Wisconsin, 732 N. Midvale Blvd., Madison, WI 53705. Shows how politics and"consciousness raising" worked in the '60s, focusing on the effects of the anti-Vietnam War movement on the university community of Madison, Wisconsin.

*The War Game.* B&W, 49 min., 1966. ($18). Boston Univ. Krasker Memorial Film Library, 765 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215. Simulates the effect on the British Isles of a fictional nuclear attack centered on the town of Kent.

*War Without Winners.* Color, 27 min., 1979. (free, except for postage). Michigan International Council, Rm 8, Kellogg Center, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824. American and Russian people expressing their fears, thoughts and hopes about the future in an age of nuclear weapons.

*The Wasted Years.* Color, 28 min., 1976. ($25). N.Y. Univ. Film Library, 26 Washington Pl., New York, NY 10003. The challenging problem of effective penal codes and reforms are explored in this film using projects in Austria, Hungary and Denmark.

*The Way the Eagle* (Expletive Deleted). Color, 10 min., 1975. ($35). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. A satirical commentary which explores the vital role played by the poor and unemployed in the U.S. economy.

*What is Democracy?* B&W, 42 min., Spanish dialogue with English subtitles, 1971. ($100). Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. Investigates "democracy" as it has been practiced in Colombia during the last forty years. Has disturbing implications for our own electoral system.

*Who Invited Us?* B&W, 60 min., 1970. ($10). Univ. of Conn., Center for Instructional Media and Technology, Storrs, CT 06268. Studies the history of U.S. military intervention and analyzes the causes, starting in 1918 when 10,000 troops were sent to overthrow the new Soviet state and ending with the war in Vietnam.

*Who's in Charge Here?* Color, 15 min., 1980. ($20). Institute for World Order, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Looks at the impact U.S. military spending exerts on the economy – jobs, taxes, inflation – from a human, personal viewpoint.

*Winter Soldier Investigations.* B&W, 17 min., 1971. (62.40 in Britain). Concord Films Council, 201 Felixstowe Rd., Ipswich, Suffolk IP3 9BJ England. An examination of American war crimes committed in Vietnam. Men of the First Marine Division describe their actions of killings and torture as well as their attitudes and opinions.

*Women's Rights and World Order.* Videotape cassette, 1980. ($10). Global Education Associates, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017. The role of women (and of men) has been greatly determined by group security concerns. Physical and military strength are proving inadequate to provide true security in a nuclear, technological age. What is the role of women in shaping this new era in human history?

*World Food: The Politics of Hunger.* Color, 10 min., 1976. ($15). Mass Media Ministries, 2116 N. Charles St., Baltimore, MD 21218. Makes the point that political machinery must be used to overcome the threat of global hunger. Blaming natural phenomenon is no longer valid.

*World Survival Through UN Reform.* Documentary film, 60 min., 1980. United Nations Association of the USA, LA Chapter, 487 S. Fairfax Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90036. A prescriptive "how to" on achieving world peace.

# Peace and World Order Studies Programs

Listed below are peace and world order studies programs located in colleges and universities in the United States. Also included are selected programs of study and research in institutions outside the United States.

This list is in no way exhaustive of the opportunities to study peace and world order today. Many colleges and universities offer a wide selection of peace and world order courses but simply have not placed them into a coherent, formal program. Thus, it is possible for students at institutions other than those listed here, if creative, to arrange a concentration of World Order Study in their undergraduate training.

All programs listed here are directed to undergraduate teaching, unless otherwise indicated. For further information, write directly to the program concerned. The editors, of course, would appreciate knowing of any deletions or additions to this list.

Akron, University of
Center for Peace Studies
Akron, OH 44304

American University
Pitman B. Potter Center for World Order
School of International Service
Washington, DC 20016
(graduate)

Antioch College
Antioch International
Individualized M.A. in Peace Studies
Yellow Springs, OH 45387

Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries
3003 Benham Avenue
Elkhart, IN 46514

Augsburg College
Department of Theology
Minneapolis, MN 55405

Avila College Peace Institute
11901 Wornall Road
Kansas City, MO 64145

Beloit College
Peace Studies Program
Beloit, WS 53511

Bethany Theological Seminary
Butterfield & Meyers Rds.
P.O. Box 408
Oak Brook, IL 60521 (M.A.)

Bethel College
Peace Studies Program
North Newton, KA 67117

Boston College
Program for the Study of Peace and War
McElroy 227
Chestnut Hill, MA 02167

Carlow College
Peace Studies Program
3333 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Catholic University
Peace Studies Program
Marist Hall
Washington, DC 20064

Colgate University
Program in Peace and World Order Studies
Hamilton, NY 13346

Colorado, University of
Conflict and Peace Studies Program
Muenzinger E 229
Boulder, CO 80302

Colorado, University of
Graduate Concentration in the Sociology of Conflict
Boulder, CO 80302 (graduate)

Connecticut, University of
Center for World Studies
Storrs, CT 06268

Connecticut, University of
World Education Project
U-32, School of Education
Storrs, CT 06268
(M.A. & Ph.D.)

Cornell University
Program on Peace Studies
Center for International Studies
Ithaca, NY 14850
(research) (teaching) (minor-undergraduate)

Cuyahoga Community College
Global Interdependence Education Project
Center for Urban/Metropolitan Development
2900 Community College Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115
(teacher training)

Dartmouth College
Peace and World Order Studies Program
Hanover, NH 03755

Dayton, University of
Peace Studies Institute
Dayton, OH 54509

Denver, University of
Center for Teaching International Relations
Graduate School of International Studies
University Park
Denver, CO 80208
(Ph.D., M.A.)

Dubuque, University of
Department of Political Science
Dubuque, IA 52001

D'Youville College
Peace Studies Program
320 Porter Street
Buffalo, NY 14201

Earlham College
Earlham School of Religion
Joint Peace Studies, Masters Program
Richmond, IN 47374
(B.A., M.A.)

Earlham College
Peace and World Order Studies Program
Richmond, IN 47374

Edgewood College
Independent Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution
855 Woodrow Street
Madison, WS 53711
(teacher training)

Florida, University of
Peace Studies
College of Education
Gainesville, FL 32601

Florida International University
Global Awareness Program
School of Education
Miami, FL 33199
(teacher training)

Georgetown University
Center for Peace Studies
Washington, DC 20007

Goddard College
Peace Studies Program
Plainfield, VT 05667

Goshen College
PAXCOM
Goshen, IN 46526

Harvard University
International Studies
211 Longfellow Hall
13 Appian Way
Cambridge, MA 02138

Hawaii, University of
Alternative Futures Program
Honolulu, HI 96822
(M.A.)

Hawaii, University of
Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West
1777 East-West Road
Honolulu, HI 96822

Hilbert College
Institute on Education for Non-Violence
Hamburg, NY 14075

Houston, University of
Futures Studies
Clear Lake City
2700 Bay Area Blvd.
Houston, TX 77058
(M.S. or M.A. in Education)

International School of Education
University Park Place
Parker, CO 80134
(graduate)

Iowa, University of
Global Studies Program
University House
Iowa City, IA 52242

Juniata College
Peace Studies Program
Huntingdon, PA 16652

Kean College of New Jersey
Study of the Future
Morris Avenue
Union, NJ 07083

Kent State University
Center for Peaceful Change
Stopher Hall
Kent, OH 44240

Lafayette College
Easton, PA 18042

La Verne College
Peace Studies Program
La Verne, CA 91750

Lowell, University of
Department of Sociology
N. Campus
Lowell, MA 01854

Manchester College
Peace Studies Institute
North Manchester, IN 46962

Manhattan College
Peace Studies Institute
Riverdale, NY 10471

Mankato State College
Peace Studies Program
Mankato, MN 56001

Maryland, University of
Program in Technology, Resources
and Sustainable Growth
Department of Government and
Politics
College Park, MD 20742
(M.A., Ph.D. and strong undergraduate
concentration)

Massachusetts, University of
Future Studies Program
164 Hills House South
Amherst, MA 01003
(M.Ed., CAGS, Ed.D.)

Mennard Junior College
Institute for Peace Studies
Merrill, WI 54452

Michigan State University
Global Studies Center
College of Education
513 Erickson Hall
East Lansing, MI 48824

Michigan, University of
World Politics Program
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
(research)

Minnesota, University of
World Order Studies Project
Quigley Center of International
Studies
1246 Social Science Bldg.
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Minnesota, University of
Alternative Futures
College of Education
203-F Burton Hall
Minneapolis, MN 55455
(M.A., Ph.D. w/concentration)

Monmouth College
Program in Peace Studies
West Long Branch, NJ 07764

Mount Marty College
Cross-Cultural Understanding for
Teachers Project
Yankton, SD 57078
(workshops for teachers)

Nebraska, University of Lincoln
Teacher Training for Cultural
Understanding Project
Department of Secondary Education
Henzlik Hall 216A
Lincoln, NE 68588

North Carolina, University of
Studies of Conflict and Peace
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
(graduate)

Oberlin College
Peace Studies Major
Oberlin, OH

Oregon State University
Global Studies Program
International Education
Corvallis, OR 97331

Oregon State University
Peace Education Resource Group
Corvallis, OR 97331

Pennsylvania, University of
Peace Science Department
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Pittsburgh, University of
Peace and Conflict Studies
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Portland, University of
Global Studies Consortium
Portland, OR 97203

Portland, University of
Peace Studies Program
Portland, OR 97203

Princeton University
World Order Studies Program
Center of International Studies
Princeton, NJ 08540
(doctoral and post-doctoral research)

Rocky Mountain College
Department of Christian Thought
Billings, MT 59102

Curtis Roosevelt High School for International Studies
130 Stuyvesant Pl.
Staten Island, NY 10301

Rutgers University
International Environment Studies
Cook College
New Brunswick, NJ 08903

St. Cloud State University
Futures Studies
St. Cloud, MN 56301

Saint Joseph's College
Faith-Justice Institute
City Ave. at 54th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19131

St. Louis University
Futures Studies
221 N. Grand Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63103

St. Louis University
Institute for Study of Peace
221 N. Grand Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63103

School for International Training
World Issues Program
Brattleboro, VT 05031

Southern Illinois University
Peace Studies Program
Edwardsville, IL 62025

College of Staten Island
Center for International Service
130 Stuyvesant Place
Staten Island, NY 10301

Syracuse University
Program in Nonviolent Conflict and Change
Maxwell School
Syracuse, NY 13210
(B.A., Ph.D.)

Union College
Peace and World Order Studies Program
Schenectady, NY 12308

Vermont, University of
Center for World Education
Burlington, VT 05401
(M. Ed.)

Wayne State University
Center for Peace and Conflict Studies
5229 Cass Avenue
Detroit, MI 48202
(B.A. and graduate)

Wesleyan University
Science in Society Program
Middletown, CT 06457

Western Michigan University
Humanistic Future Studies
Kalamazoo, MI 49008

William Patterson College of New Jersey
Peace Studies Program
300 Pompton Road
Wayne, NJ 07470

Wilmington College
Pyle Center
Box 1243
Wilmington, OH 45177

Wisconsin, University of
Global Studies Project
1448 Van Hise Hall
Madison, WI 53706
(teacher training)

Wisconsin, University of
American Institutions Program
Madison, WI 53706

Wisconsin, University of
Center for Conflict Resolution
Suite 120
520 University Avenue
Madison, WI 53706

Wisconsin, University of
Peace Studies Program
Stevens Point, WI 54481

Wittenberg University
Office of International Education
Future and International Studies
Springfield, OH 45501

**Austria**

Institute for Peace Research
University of Vienna
Bauernfeldgasse 9/2/5
A-1190 Vienna

**Belgium**

Centre of War Sociology
Institut de Sociologie
Universite Libre de Bruxelles
44 trenne Jeanne
Brussels 1050

Institute for Conflict Study
University of Peace
B5200 Huy Rue de Marche
35 Antwerp

**Canada**

British Columbia, Univ. of
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, BC V6T 1W5

Conrad Grebel College for
Peace and Conflict Studies
University of Waterloo
Waterloo, Ontario
(4 yr. degree)

Futures
Dawson College
Center for Continuing Education
350 Selby Street
Montreal, Quebec H32 1Y9

Summer Schools in Peace Research
Grindstone Island
Lake Rideau
Ontario
(Univ. of Vermont Green Mountain
Burlington, VT 05401)

**Chile**

Latin American School of Political
Science and Public Administration
Casilla 3213, Santiago

**Denmark**

Hesbjerg Peace Research College
5573 Holmstrup
Fyn

**Germany, Federal Republic of**

Arbeitsgemeinschaft
Friedensforschung
Institut fur Politikwissenschaft
Tubingen Peace Research Group
Universitat Tubingen
Brunenstrasse 30, D-7400
Tubingen 1

Free University of Berlin
Institute for Political Science
Department of Peace and Conflict
Research
1 Berlin 21
Ihmestrasse 21
West Berlin

Institut fur Friedensforshung und
Sicherheitspolitik
Institute for Peace Research and
Security Policy
Universitat Hamburg
Falkenstein 1 D-2000
Hamburg 55

**India**

Centre for Studies in Peace and
Nonviolence
Sri Venkatswara University
Tirupati 517502

**Japan**

Institute for Peace Science
Hiroshima University
Higashi-Sendamarchi
Hiroshima

Institute for World Affairs
Kyoto Sangyo University
Room 201 Noguchi Hideyo
Kinenkaikan
Shinjuku-ku
Tokyo 150

Japan Peace Research Group
Institute of Social Science
University of Tokyo
Hongo 7-3-1, Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo 113

Peace Studies Association
Waseda University
4-5-4, Asagaya-kita
Suguinami-hu
Tokyo 166

Peace Studies Association of Japan
Department of Political Science and Economics
Waseda University
1-6-1 Nishi-Shinjuki
Tokyo 160

Sophia University
7 Kioicho Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 102

World Order Studies Project
c/o Yoshikazu Sakamoto
Faculty of Law
University of Tokyo
Tokyo 113

### Netherlands

Nederlands Instituut voor Vredesvraagstukken
Alexanderstraat 7
Postbus 740
The Hague

Peace Research Center
Institute of Political Science
University of Nijmegen
Verlengde Groenstraat 43
Nijmegen

### Nigeria

Department of Teacher Education
University of Ibadan
Ibadan

Peace Research Institute of Nigeria
Department of Political Science
University of Nigeria

### Norway

International Summer School
University of Oslo
P.O. Box 10, Blindern
Oslo 3

### Philippines

Southern Philippines Center for Peace Studies
Mindanao State University
Marawi City

### Sweden

Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Uppsala University
P.O. Box 278
S-751 05 Uppsala 1

Interdisciplinary Conflict Research Group
Statsvetenskapliga Institutionen
University of Gothenburg
Fack
400 25 Goteborg 52

University Commission for Peace
and Conflict Research
Paradisgatan 5
S-22350 Lund

### Switzerland

Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Developpement
24 Rue Rothschild
1202 Geneva

Institut Universitaire de Hautes
Etudes Internationales
Graduate Institute of International Studies
P.O. Box 53
Rue de Lausanne
CH-1211
Geneva

### United Kingdom

Centre for the Analysis of Conflict
University College London
4-8 Endsleigh Street
London W.C. 1

Conflict Research Unit
London School of Economics
13 Endsleigh Street
London W.C. 1

Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton, Sussex

Peace and Conflict Programme
Fylde College
University of Lancaster
Bailrigg

School of Peace Studies
University of Bradford
Bradford, West Yorkshire
BD7 IDP

**Yugoslavia**

Inter University Centre
Frana Bulica 4
YU-50000
Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia
(1 yr postgrad. in English)

# Institutes and Organizations Relevant to Peace and World Order Studies

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The following is a select list of institutes and organizations engaged in research, education and action relevant to peace and world order studies. For more comprehensive listings of organizations in the field, we suggest consulting the following:

Karen Aptakin, ed., *Good Works: A Guide to Social Change Careers* (Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Responsive Law, 1980);
Randall Forsberg, ed., *American Peace Directory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981);
Global Perspectives in Education, *The Organization Resource Directory for Global Education* (NY: Global Perspectives in Education, 1980);
*Peace Research: Trend Report and World Directory* (Paris: UNESCO Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences No. 43, 1978);
*Tranet* (P.O. Box 567, Rangeley, ME 04970—consult issues for alternative technology and development groups.);
Laurie Wiseberg & Harry M. Scoble, eds., *North American Human Rights Directory 1980* (Garrett Park, MD: Garrett Park Press, 1980);
World Future Society, *The Future: A Guide to Information Sources* (Washington, DC: World Future Society, 1979).

*American Committee on Africa (ACOA).* 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038; (212) 962-1210. Originally founded to support African independence movements, ACOA provides information on Africa, mobilizes political action in support of African struggles, and lobbies in the US Congress for a more progressive US foreign policy towards Africa.

*American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).* 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102; (215) 241-7000. Dedicated to the search for non-violent solutions to human problems AFSC is involved in peace education, human rights work, refugee relief and community development in a variety of countries.

*Amnesty International—USA.* 304 W. 58th St., New York, NY 10019; (212) 582-4440. An internationally-based advocacy group working for the release of prisoners of conscience.

*Bread for the World.* 32 Union Square East, New York, NY 10003; (212) 260-7000. A Christian citizens' movement which publishes a newsletter and educational materials, sponsors conferences, and monitors current US legislation and foreign food issues.

*Canadian Peace Research Institute.* Griffin Lodge, Huntsville,Ontario Canada, POA 1KD. A private research institute working on a variety of world order issues including disarmament, security and structural violence.

*Center of Concern.* 3700 13th St., NE, Washington DC 20017. Engaged in social analysis, religious reflection and public education on social justice and human rights issues.

*Center for Defense Information.* 122 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002; (202) 543-0400. Publishes information and conducts research on defense, arms control, and disarmament issues.

*Center for International Policy.* 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002. Conducts research on U.S. foreign policy toward the Third World, particularly the relationship of economic and military assistance to the status of human rights.

*Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.* 29 Rajpur Road, Delhi 110054, India. A major research institute working on issues of international equity, economic dependence, militarism, as well as on problems of developing countries.

*Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC).* 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038; (212) 964-6730. An ecumenical organization concerned about social justice issues, including human rights, arms proliferation, Indochina conflict and military conversion.

*Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.* 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002. Mobilizes grassroots attention towards Congressional attempts to conduct a non-interventionist, humane, and open U.S. foreign policy.

*Conference on Peace Research in History,* c/o Prof. Wm. Hoover, Dept. of History, University of Toledo, OH 42606. Encourages and coordinates peace research among historians and social scientists.

*Consortium on Peace, Research, Education and Development (COPRED).* Center for Peaceful Change, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242. A network and catalyst for peace research, education and advocacy, both within professional and social change constituencies.

*Corporacion Integral para el Desarrollo Cultural y Social (CODECAL).* Apartado 20439, Bogota, Colombia. An institute and network of educators involved in social education, with emphasis on peace and justice issues and involvement with peasants and the urban poor.

*Council on Economic Priorities.* Conversion Information Center, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011; (212) 691-8550. Provides information on the defense industry and conversion efforts.

*The Data Center.* 464 19th St., Oakland, CA 94612. A library and information center which provides data on the U.S. and its role in world political economy.

*Fellowship of Reconciliation.* P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960; (914) 358-4601. An international, ecumenical organization promoting the use of non-violence and pacifism in conflict resolution. Also politically active in disarmament, human rights, and disaster-relief efforts.

*Foundation Reshaping the International Order (RIO).* P.O. Box 299, 300A6 Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Engaged in research and education designed to increase understanding and discussion of the new international economic order and the international development strategies.

*Friends of the Earth.* 124 Spear St., San Francisco, CA 94105. A membership organization engaged in research, education and advocacy on environmental and ecological issues, including environmentally sound energy and development policies.

*Fundacion Bariloche.* Casilla de Correa 138, 8400 San Carlos de Bariloche, Province de Rio Negro, Argentina. Involved in research and education emphasizing the importance of basic needs in national and international development strategies.

*Geneva International Peace Research Institute.* 41, rue de Zurich, CH-1201 Geneva, Switzerland. Conducts scientific and transdisciplinary research in the field of peace and security in order to contribute to the establishment of true peace.

*Gandhi Peace Foundation.* 2221-223 Deen Dayal, Upadhyaya Marg, New Delhi 110002 India. Devoted to both research and constructive activities in the field of peace, non-violence, and social economic reconstruction.

*Global Education Associates*. 552 Park Ave., E. Orange, NJ 07017; (201) 675-1409. An educational organization which facilitates the efforts of concerned people of diverse cultures, talents and experience in contributing to a more human and just world order.

*Global Learning, Inc.*, 40 S. Fullerton Ave., Montclair, NJ 07042; (201) 783-7616. Through in-service training, workshops and development of curriculum materials, Global Learning seeks to facilitate the study of global issues in area secondary schools.

*Global Perspectives in Education, Inc.*, 218 E. 18th St., New York NY 10003; (212) 475-0850. A nonpartisan educational effort, building upon American democratic traditions, to prepare youth for the challenges of national citizenship in a global age. (Publishes two key directories.)

*Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development*. United Nations University, c/o UNITAR, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. A UNU research network engaged in a series of international studies ranging from development strategies and energy to alternative life-styles.

*Human Rights Internet*. 1502 Ogden St., NW, Washington DC 20010. Serves as a clearing house of information for human rights educators and advocates throughout the globe.

*Institute for Defense & Disarmament Studies*, 251 Harvard St., Brookline, MA 02146; (617) 734-4216. Established with the view that the principles of democracy and the rule of law, not the use of force, should prevail within and among nations, the Institute studies the nature and purposes of military forces and the obstacles to and opportunities for disarmament.

*Institute for Food and Development Policy*. 2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110; (415) 648-6090. A research, documentation, and education center focusing on food and agricultural issues, in particular the role of governments and corporations in the struggle to provide food security.

*Institute for Policy Studies*. 1901 Que St., NW, Washington DC 20009. A transnational research and education center which provides alternative strategies and analysis of domestic policy, national security, international economics, and human rights.

*Institute of International Law*. 82 Avenue du Castel, 1200 Brussels Belgium. Primarily concerned with questions of international law, international relations and peace.

*Institute for World Order*. 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; (212) 490-0010. Engaged in research and education concerned with the establishement of a system of world order more capable of realizing peace, economic well-being, social justice, and ecological balance universally.

*Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility*. 475 Riverside Dr., Rm 566, New York, NY 10027; (212) 876-2293. Sponsored by the National Council of Churches. ICCR is engaged in research, education and action on such corporate issues as economic conversion, agribusiness, and the operations of transnational corporations in South Africa and Third World countries.

*International Coalition for Development Action*. Bedford Chambers, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8HA, England. A network of development-oriented action groups and agencies located in industrialized countries, bound together by a commitment to achieve a more just and equitable international order.

*International Commission of Jurists, American Association for*. 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; (212) 972-0883. Drawn from all sectors of the legal community, the Commission is dedicated to the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary to uphold and strengthen the observance of human rights.

*International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA)*. 2 Place du Marche, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland. Concerned with finding more equitable and humane development strategies at the local, national and global levels. IFDA sponsors research on development questions and acts as a network for scholars, educators, and public interest organizations throughout the world.

*International Institute for Peace.* Mollwaldplatz 5, A-1040 Vienna Austria. A research and educational institute concerned with questions of international relations, peace, and disarmament.

*International Human Rights Law Group.* 1700 K St. NW, Washington DC 20006; (202) 659-5023. Provides legal services and conducts educational programs in the field of international human rights.

*International League for Human Rights.* 236 E. 46th St., New York, NY 10017; (212) 972-9554. Through the publication of special reports, the submission of documented complaints to governmental and intergovernmental bodies, and the organization of investigative commissions, the League works toward the protection of the rights of individuals.

*International Peace Academy.* 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Devoted to furthering the practical skills and procedures for dispute settlement, peacekeeping, peacemaking, mediation and conflict management, as well as the broader concerns of human rights and peace.

*International Peace Bureau.* 41 rue de Zurich, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland. An international federation of peace organizations concentrating on the evaluation and formulation of proposals for world disarmament.

*International Peace Research Association.* c/o Yoshikazu Sakamoto, Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo, Hongo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113, Japan. Founded for the purpose of advancing interdisciplinary research into the conditions of peace and the causes of war, IPRA conducts research, organizes conferences and publishes a newsletter for peace research educators and scholars.

*Lindisfarne Association.* Baca Grande Ranche, Baca Grande, CO. An association devoted to building a new planetary culture through the synthesis of new age consciousness and modern insights into culture and science.

*Members of Congress for Peace through Law (MCPL).* Room 3538, House Annex II, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington DC 20515. Bipartisan group of Congressmen and women concerned about world peace. MCPL is working to increase Congressional commitment to human rights, arms control, and more effective foreign aid.

*Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project.* 867 W. Dana St., Mt. View, CA 94041; (415) 968-8798. Engages in research and education related to the conversion of the military industry to socially useful production and to the escalation of nuclear energy and weapons throughout the globe.

*Mobilization for Survival.* 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19104; (215) 386-4875. A national organization involved in coalition-building and education for stopping nuclear power, banning nuclear weapons, ending the arms race, and funding human needs.

*National Action-Research on the Military Industrial Complex.* 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102; (215) 241-7175. Provides educational materials on disarmament, militarism, human rights and Southern Africa.

*Nautilus.* 2729 Derby St., Berkeley, CA 94705. Engages in research on the social, political and economic issues relating to the development of nuclear energy, and on alternative energy options in Third World countries.

*Network.* 806 Rhode Island Ave., NE, Washington DC 20018; (202) 526-4070. Concerned with social justice and human rights issues, Network seeks to effect systemic change by influencing national legislation.

*Network to Educate for World Security.* 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Proposes establishment of a UN-sponsored disarmament fund devoted to worldwide peace and security education.

*New Directions.* 305 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002. Organizes and mobilizes nationwide political action on the interlocking global problems of arms, energy, human rights and hunger.

*New World Alliance.* 733 15th St., NW, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 347-6082. An alliance of individuals seeking to forge, through a program of conferences, workshops, public speaking, writing, a new politics of ecology, participation, appropriate scale, globalism, and spirituality.

*North American Congress on Latin America.* 151 W. 19th St., 9th fl., New York, NY 10011; (212) 989-8890. Founded in response to the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic, NACLA conducts research and analysis on the impact of U.S. policies on Latin America.

*Overseas Development Council.* 1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington DC 20036; (212) 234-8701. Seeks to promote understanding of development issues by the American public, policymakers, specialists, educators, and the media through its research, conferences, publications, and liaison with U.S. organizations interested in U.S. relations with the developing world.

*Oxfam-America.* 302 Columbus Ave., Boston, MA 02215; (617) 247-3304. A private voluntary organization which provides relief services to famine-struck areas, organizes and funds self-reliant economic development projects in the Third World, and conducts educational programs on food and economic development.

*Pax Christi International.* Kerkstraat 150, 2000 Antwerp, Belgium; Tel 35.02.72. USA: 3000 N. Mango Ave., Chicago, IL 60634. An internationally-based peace movement, Pax Christi seeks to promote peace and justice through educational and networking programs.

*Peace Research Institute.* 25 Dundana Ave., Dundas, Ontario L9H 4E5 Canada. Conducts research on the obstacles to and conditions for peace, including international trade, disarmament and the United Nations.

*Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO).* Radhusgata 4, Oslo 1, Norway; 11-41-05. PRIO is engaged in an extensive program of research and publishing on militarism, human rights, economic development, and international equity issues.

*Peaceworkers.* Box 2, Lafayette, CA 94549. Building a roster of volunteers who are willing to serve in a UN Peaceworkers service, if and when one is established, and to train for such a service in laboratory projects in urban areas.

*Planetary Citizens.* 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; (212) 490-2766. Seeks to promote a planetary perspective and commitment to humane solutions to global problems, through a program of publications, workshops, and conferences.

*Riverside Church Disarmament Program.* 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027; (212) 749-7000. Organizes conferences and provides speakers and resources on disarmament education.

*SANE.* 514 C St., NE, Washington DC 20002; (202) 546-4868. Mobilizes grassroots support for American initiatives for peace and disarmament, including efforts for economic conversion.

*Sojourners Fellowship.* 1343 Euclid St., NW, Washington DC 20009; (202) 232-2657. Actively involved in the struggle of the poor in the local DC area as well as in international efforts on behalf of political dissidents. Sojourners publishes a monthly on peace and justice issues.

*Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.* Sveagen 166, S-113 46 Stockholm, Sweden. An independent institution for research into problems of peace and conflict, with particular attention to the problems of disarmament and arms regulation.

*Tampere Peace Research Institute.* Tammelan puistokatu 58B, 33100 Tampere 10, Finland. Conducts interdisciplinary and international scientific research on the problems of war and peace.

*Tranet. Transnational Network for Appropriate Alternative Technologies.* P.O. Box 567, Rangley, ME 04970. A network of individuals and groups developing new technologies, lifestyles and economic patterns.

*Transnational Institute (TNI).* Paulus Potterstraat 20, 1017DA Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Drawing researchers from throughout the world, TNI conducts research on human rights, development, militarism and disarmament, international law and the new international economic order.

*United Nations Association of the USA.* 300 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017. Seeks to familiarize the US public with the essential role of the UN and other international organizations as well as some of the serious issues facing the UN and world community.

*United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization.* Division of Human Rights and Peace, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris France. In addition to sponsoring peace research, the Division of Human Rights and Peace currently is establishing an International Peace Research Information System aimed at improving the exchange of information and documentation among peace researchers and assisting the creation and development of peace research centres in developing countries.

*United Nations Institute for Training and Research.* 801 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. UN agency engaged in and supporting research on global issues, including security, development, and future modeling.

*War Resisters League.* 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012; (212) 228-0450. Particularly concerned with the rights of the individual to refuse military service, WRL is based on the principles of non-violence and pacifism.

*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).* 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107; (215) 563-7110. Founded in 1915 to achieve peace, freedom and justice through non-violent means, WILPF publishes current analysis on disarmament and social justice issues, often with special reference to the actions of Congress and international organizations.

*World Council for Curriculum and Instruction.* Box 171, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. With the general goal of facilitating transnational cooperation among educators, WCCI seeks to develop curriculum for international cooperation, peace, and global community building.

*World Federalists Association.* 1011 Arlington Blvd., Suite W-219, Arlington, VA 22209. Promotes the voluntary establishment of a world government and concurrently encourages the growth of global institutions which can effectively deal with today's interdependent world.

*World Future Society (WFS).* 4916 St. Elmo Ave., Washington DC 20014. Through a series of workshops and publications, WFS seeks to contribute to a reasoned awareness of the future and of the importance of its study, without advocating particular ideologies or engaging in political activities.

*World Future Studies Federation.* Casella Postage 6203, Roma Prati, Rome 00195, Italy. Promotes and encourages future studies from all disciplines, facilitates networking of individuals and organizations involved in future studies and organizes conferences and workshops on specific issues of concern to futurists.

*World Information Service on Energy International.* 2e Weteringplantsoen 9, 1017 ZD Amsterdam, Netherlands. USA: 1536 16th St., NW, Washington DC 20036. Provides information, relevant to the transnational anti-nuclear movement against nuclear power and a technocratic, centralized, authoritarian, undemocratic form of society.

*World Peace Council.* Lonnrotinkatu 25 A 6 krs. 00180 Helsinki 18, Finland. Facilitates cultural, educational and scientific cooperation between peace research institutes throughout the globe.

*World Peacemakers.* 2852 Ontario Rd., NW, Washington DC 20009. Faith-oriented network dedicated to activating people on security issues.

*World Without War Council.* 175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010; (212) 674-2085. A national organization whose overall purpose is to help end war through the peaceful change of U.S. foreign policy and the strengthening of international institutions. Its activities include workshops, young professional training, publications, and networking with peace organizations.

*Worldwatch Institute.* 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036. An independent research organization created to analyze and focus attention on global problems.